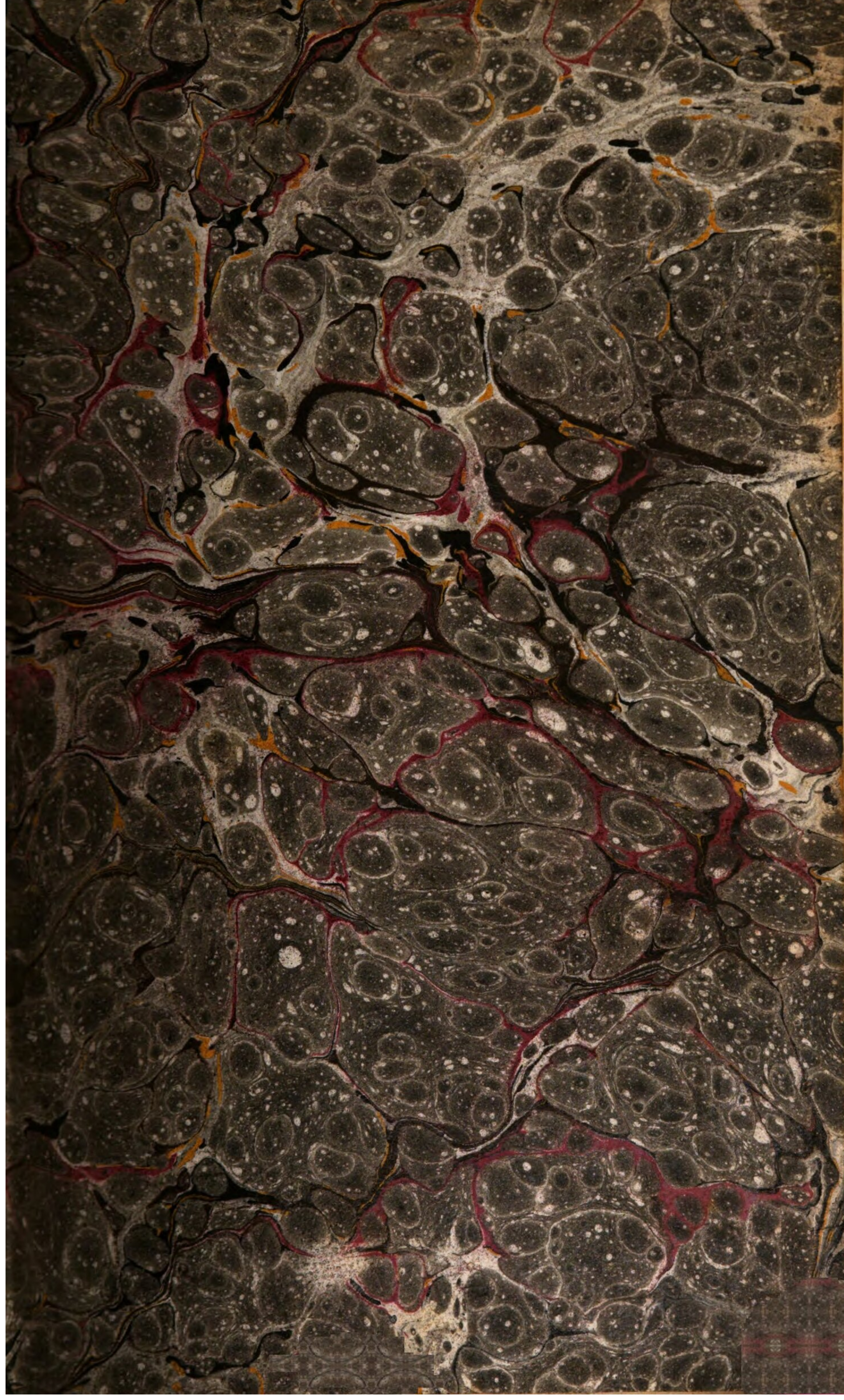








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ANNALS
OF THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION.

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ANNALS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

ANNALS
OF THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION;

OR,
A CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF
Its Principal Events;

WITH A VARIETY OF
ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS
HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.

BY
A. F. BERTRAND DE MOLEVILLE,
MINISTER OF STATE.

TRANSLATED
By R. C. DALLAS, Esq.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF THE AUTHOR, WHICH HAS
NEVER BEEN PUBLISHED.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

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OF THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION:

A CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF

ITS PRINCIPAL EVENTS

WITH A HISTORY OF

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS

BY THE EDITOR

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1800.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IT was originally intended that the Papers contained in the Appendix should be placed in the different Volumes, according to the references; but from the variety in the length of those Papers it was afterwards thought proper, in order to preserve a uniformity of size in the Volumes, to throw them together at the end of the work. Previous to this determination, a reference had been made, page 57, to one of the notes at the end of the first Volume, as if it were in the Appendix; but the reader will observe, that there are but two notes at the end of the first Volume, and that this reference is to the note, and not to the Appendix, the references to which will be found numbered in the succeeding pages.

The Translator takes the opportunity of this Advertisement to apologise for the admission of French terms into the body of the work. Al-

though sensible of the copiousness of the English language, and of the fault of admitting words that can be translated, he has been under the necessity of using the French expressions received in conversation, in order to avoid an awkwardness of phraseology. He alludes to such phrases as *Tiers-Etat*, *Coté-Droit*, *Coté-Gauche*, *Brigands*, *lantern* for the lamp-iron, and others, which the peculiar events of the age seem to have naturalised.

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PRELIMINARY NOTE.

THESE Annals, far from being a sequel of the Private Memoirs which I have already published, are the chief work from which I extracted the chapters that form those Memoirs. I was aware of the inconvenience and imputation to which I subjected myself, by offering to the public some unconnected chapters which did not form a whole; but insuperable obstacles at that time prevented the publication of the entire work.—Many of the chapters remained unfinished, from my inability to procure all the original papers I wished to add to them: besides, I could find no bookseller who would undertake to print, on his own account, seven large volumes, upon a subject which had already employed the pen of so many writers, and I could not myself be at the

expence of the publication. I might indeed have postponed it, but I thought it incumbent upon me to produce it. The profound veneration I felt for the virtues of *Louis XVI.* would not suffer me to bear long the atrocious calumnies which his assassins were still venting against him. I should have considered myself as their accomplice, if, while it was in my power by incontestable facts to repel the odious charges with which they laboured to stain the memory of that unfortunate Monarch, I had not hastened to establish those facts, by publishing them in the lifetime of all the persons interested to contradict them, and by defying them to overturn my testimony. Although I did not fear their objections, it was my part to challenge them ; and the silence they have preserved for two years after that challenge, may doubtless be considered as a formal acknowledgement of the accuracy of my statements.

These were the motives that actuated me in dividing my work into two parts. The one, composed chiefly of details in which I was myself principally concerned, or of facts known only to the persons whom I have mentioned, was that which I thought should appear the first, and to which alone the title of *Private Memoirs* was suitable : the other is a faithful account of the principal events of the French Revolution, such

as

as they passed under my own eyes, for I was witness to almost all of them. I have added several interesting anecdotes little known, of which I had it in my power to be exactly informed, and some of which have been altered or exaggerated by the writers of different parties.

This second part will have no chasms in the History, and will supply those which have been observed in the first. There might have been some reason to find fault with them, had I not precluded it by publishing that part, only as "Private Memoirs relative to the last year of the reign of *Louis XVI*," and *not to the four preceding years*. This Chronological Account, and those Memoirs, make a complete History of the Revolution, from its commencement to the death of the King. I have omitted all the discussions of uninteresting details, idle talk, war of words, insults, and miserable quirks, which have often consumed whole Sitzings of those Assemblies, of which the majority of the speakers consisted of indifferent advocates and country pettifoggers. Nor have I admitted that immense number of Decrees, the voluminous and undigested collection of which can only be preserved as a monument of ignorance, contradiction, phrensy, injustice, and absurdity. I have thought it enough to mention the most remarkable of them, by reporting their chief tendencies. I have been particularly solicitous to give a very exact
ac-

account of all the important facts. If they present a just idea of the Revolution, and its causes, principles and effects, and of the character and views of its authors, I have attained the end I proposed.

ii
INTRODUCTION.
volutions that have happened in other coun-
tries; and chiefly to that which took place
in England, in the reign of Charles the
First.

ANNALS
OF THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION.

INTRODUCTION.

*Containing a concise View of the French Re-
volution, or rather of the different Re-
volutions that have taken place in France
since the Meeting of the last States-General.*

IT has been the grand object of almost
all the writers upon the French Revolution,
in their inquiries, compilations, and argu-
ments, to prove that it is similar to the Re-
volutions

VOL. I. B

volutions that have happened in other countries ; and chiefly to that which took place in England, in the reign of *Charles the First*.

Some have employed their pens to ridicule the vain boastings and arrogated talents of the conductors of the Revolution in France, by shewing that they are only fervile imitators of preceding Revolutions, with this difference, that they have polluted theirs with crimes more atrocious, and infinitely more numerous. Others endeavour to support the courage and the hopes of the Royalists, by referring them to the re-establishment of the house of *Stuart* upon the throne of England, as an infallible prototype of an approaching re-establishment of the house of *Bourbon*.

But however ingenious these analogies may be, they are always inaccurate, and more calculated than they at first appear to be, to strengthen the tyranny under which France at present groans. They tend, in fact, but to confirm the apathy of the suffering nation, and the deplorable security of all those countries that have reason to dread the despotism of the oppressors.

The French may say : “ If our Revolution
“ tion

“ tion be similar to all others, it will have a
“ termination, as all others have had. The
“ monarchy will ere long be re-established,
“ without our incurring fresh dangers to ac-
“ celerate its restoration. We shall at least
“ have a wise and just government, suffi-
“ ciently powerful to protect our persons
“ and properties. Let us remain quiet, let
“ us have patience, perhaps the end of all
“ our calamities is at hand.”

Other nations may argue in like manner :
“ Why should we disturb ourselves about
“ this Revolution ? It will have no more
“ effect upon us than all those to which it
“ is similar have had. What is it to us
“ whether or not the Government of France
“ be more or less stable—more or less atro-
“ cious ? whether or not its commerce be
“ destroyed, its manufactories ruined ?—
“ Our wealth will increase by the wreck of
“ theirs, and we shall have the greater rea-
“ son to love the Government under which
“ we live.”

Instead then of propagating or upholding
such errors, would it not be far more use-
ful thoroughly to convince the French that
their Revolution is not similar, either in its
principles or essential qualities, to any of

those that have gone before it? that, far from being able to effect its own termination, it has a tendency to perpetuate itself, under different forms, more or less disastrous, until those who feel its oppression shall unite to put an end to it; or until the successive murders, transportations, and robberies of every proprietor, stifling all spirit of property, all sentiment of patriotism, shall reduce the land, uncultivated and unpeopled, to a mere haunt for hordes of robbers, and make it an easy prey to the first Power that shall choose to seize upon it?

Would it not be more material, at the same time, to demonstrate to all Kings, all Governments, all Proprietors in every country, that the sole and necessary plan of the present despotism in France is to complete throughout Europe a general subversion of the very foundations of social order, of the principles of civilization, and to invade all property? that they are all consequently still more interested than France herself to put a stop, by every means yet remaining in their power*, to this horrible Revolution,

* I do not mean to say, nor do I think, that there remain many.

which stalks towards them with gigantic strides ; and which, sooner or later, will bring down upon them those calamities, of which it is now clear that we are but the earliest victims ? for already have several nations shared our fate, and over every other does it evidently hang.

I say, such is the sole and necessary plan of the Directory, because, in fact, it is by that alone they can command those violent means, of which they are continually in need, to preserve their power, or even their existence. They talk, and will continue to talk of peace, in all their proclamations, because it is the cry throughout France ; but they neither do, nor can desire, nor will they ever make a general, sincere, and lasting one ; for they cannot but be aware, that their Government, now detested by the whole nation, the plunderers only excepted, would never bear the test of that system of justice, order, and moderation, which peace would compel them to establish. Even truces would be fatal to them ; for those that have taken place within the last two years have all been marked by internal commotions, more or less alarming to them. Besides, war and the revolutionary system

are the only means of power left them, the only resource of finance they have remaining; and those furnish them with armies so numerous as to extend conquests and revolutions abroad, and secure subjection at home. They apparently authorise those enormous contributions levied on the countries they conquer or throw into a state of Revolution, those forced loans, those exactions of every kind, by which they obtain the immense supplies that they find necessary to satisfy the avidity of all their agents, to pay for crimes committed by the robbers in their service, and to cover their own share of the general plunder.

These are the invariable truths that cannot be too often repeated, and which should be rung through almost all the cabinets of Europe; for those of St. James's and Petersburg are perhaps the only ones that have been sensible of them*. They are too im-

* Gratitude and truth make it my duty to testify likewise, that England and Russia are the only States of Europe where the French Emigrants have found an asylum, and honourable relief. GEORGE III. and PAUL I. seem to have taken on themselves alone the care of discharging the debt of Royalty to the noble victims of its cause.

portant

portant not to be unfolded more circumstantially.

It will always be very easy to find in every Revolution some points bearing a resemblance to other Revolutions, because the tactics of the Revolutions of Empires have ever been, and ever will be the same; according to their extent, the nature of their Government, the degree of their civilization, and other circumstances. The same observations occur on the causes of those Revolutions; it is always seen that they are to be imputed to the weakness of the person or persons in whose hands the Government is placed, except when they are excited by a neighbouring nation, and supported by its armies.

As the solution of the problem, of the greater number submitting to the smaller, results from the examination of every Government, it must thence necessarily follow, that there exists in all States a natural and invariable tendency towards a revolution, and that it always breaks out when the parties governing lose the force requisite to punish the resistance, and to prevent the insurrection, of the parties governed.

These truths are so evident, that the proofs

of them are to be found in the history of all revolutions, ancient or modern ; but in none shall we find the essential qualities, qualities too little attended to, which distinguish the French Revolution from all others ; and which, while they explain the causes of its horrible atrociousness, and the phenomenon of its duration, elude the reach of human conjecture as to the crisis of its termination, and the order of things by which it will be succeeded, previous to the unavoidable re-establishment of Monarchy.

Hitherto all Revolutions were at an end as soon as the removal, or usurpation, of the supreme power was completely effected ; and the destruction of the former Government was immediately followed by the establishment of another, more or less despotic, but settled, vigorous, and absolute. In France, on the contrary, we have seen a Revolution, or rather a series of Revolutions, take place, without being followed by a stable and regular Government, although at every change the former supreme power was completely superseded. So that, although our unhappy country has been overflowed with so much blood, and tainted with so many crimes, it is not to a single Revolution they are to be charged,

charged, but to five successive ones : and who can say to how many more it may be exposed? how many remaining heads there are of this Revolutionary Hydra, which preys upon it? who shall strike off the last? Such are the characteristics by which no other Revolution is marked ; but no one has yet pointed out or inquired into the reason of this difference.

Popular insurrections, and an army, have hitherto been the usual means, or chief instruments, of every Revolution ; but those insurrections being of the most ignorant and unthinking class of the people were always fomented by a certain number of factious men, devoted to, and dependent upon, some ambitious chief, daring, brave, of military talents, sole and absolute conductor of every step of the revolt, and master of all the means of the insurrection. In the hands of this chief, the soldiers, or people armed, were but machines, which he set in motion or restrained according to his pleasure, and of which he always made use to put an end to revolutionary disorders and crimes, as soon as the object of the Revolution was gained. So *Cæsar* and *Cromwell*, after they had usurped the supreme power, lost no time in
securing

securing it to themselves, by placing it on the basis of a wise and well-regulated government; and they employed in quelling the troubles that had favoured their usurpation, those very legions, that same army, which they had used to excite them.

This was not the case in France: there, the Revolution, or rather the first of those it experienced, and of which the others were the inevitable consequence, was not, whatever be supposed, the result of a conspiracy, or preconcerted plan, to overturn the throne, or to place an usurper upon it. It was unexpectedly engendered, if I may so express myself, by a commixture of weakness, ignorance, negligence, and numberless errors in the Government. The States-General, however imprudent their convocation may have been, would have produced only useful reforms, if they had found the limits of their power marked out by a hand sufficiently firm to have kept them within that extent. It was, however, but too evident that, even before their opening, they were dreaded, and that consequently they might attempt whatever they pleased. From that time, under the name of Clubs, various associations and factions sprang up; some more

more violent than others, but all tending to the subversion of the existing Government, without agreeing upon the form of that which was to be substituted: and at that juncture also the projects of the Faction, whose views were to have the Duke of *Orleans* appointed Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, began to appear.

This Faction, or more properly this Conspiracy, was indeed of the same nature as those that had produced all former Revolutions, and might have been attended with the same consequences, had the Duke of *Orleans* been possessed of that energy of character, that bravery and daring spirit, requisite in the leader of a party. The people had already declared in his favour, and he might very easily have corrupted and brought over a great part of the army, had he been equal to the command of it: but, on the very first occasion of personal risque, he discovered such cowardice and meanness, that he defeated his own conspiracy, and convinced all those who had entered into it, that it was impossible to continue the Revolution, either in his favour or in conjunction with him. The enthusiasm the people
had

had felt for him ended with the efforts of those who had excited it.

Mr. *Necker*, whom the multitude had associated with him in their homage, still preserved for some time his adorers, and that little cabal which was for ever exalting him to the skies. But as he was inferior even to the Duke of *Orleans* in military talents and dispositions, he was as little calculated to be the leader of a Revolution, or of a great conspiracy : for which reason his panegyrists then confined themselves in their pamphlets and placards, with which the capital was over-run, to insinuating that the only means of saving the state, was to declare Mr. *Necker* DICTATOR ; or at least to confer upon him, under some title more consistent with the Monarchy, the authority and powers attached to that republican office. In fact, if after his dismissal, in the month of July 1789, he had dared to make this a condition of his return to the Ministry, it is more than probable that the King would have been under the necessity of agreeing to it, and perhaps of re-establishing in his person the office of Mayor of the Palace. At that moment he might have demanded any thing :
eight

eight days later, he might have been refused every thing; and very soon after, he was reduced to sneak out of the kingdom, in order to escape the effects of the general contempt and censure which he had brought upon himself.

General *La Fayette*, who then commanded the Parisian National Guard, gathered the wrecks of all this popularity, and might have turned them to the greatest advantage, if he had possessed “that resolute character, “and heroic judgment,” of which Cardinal *De Retz* speaks, and “which serves to distinguish what is truly honourable and “useful from what is only extraordinary, and what is extraordinary from “what is impossible.” With the genius, talents, and ambition of *Cromwell*, he might have gone as great a length; with a less criminal ambition he might at least have made himself master of the Revolution, and have directed it at his pleasure: in a word, he might have secured the triumph of whatever party he should have declared himself the leader. But as unfit for supporting the character of *Monk* as that of *Cromwell*, he soon betrayed the secret of his incapacity to all the world, and was distinguished in the crowd

crowd of constitutional ringleaders only by his three-coloured plume, his epaulettes, white horse, and famous saying upon insurrection* ;—a saying, no doubt, suggested by the ambition of outstripping all the votaries of popular favour: yet he notwithstanding never discovered, and perhaps did not well know himself, what he wanted with all this popularity.

The Revolution, at the period when the Faction that had begun it for the Duke of *Orleans* became sensible that he was too much a coward to be the leader of it, and when *La Fayette* discovered his inability to conduct it, was too far advanced to recede or to stop; and it continued its progress, but in a line that no other Revolution had taken—I mean, without a military chief, without the intervention of the army, and to gain triumphs, not for any ambitious conspirator,

* “ *L’Insurrection est le plus saint des devoirs, quand l’oppression est à son comble.* ” “ Insurrection is the most sacred of duties, when oppression is at its height.” This saying, so mis-timed in the reign of *LOUIS XVI.* so dangerous at a moment when the spirit of insurrection was rearing its head throughout the kingdom, would soon be consecrated as a salutary principle, were it now to become the cry for the whole nation’s rallying against the present despotism.

but for political and moral innovations of the most dangerous nature ; the most suited to mislead the multitude, incapable of comprehending them, and to let loose all the passions *. The more violent combined to destroy every thing, and their fatal coalition gave birth to Jacobinism, that terrible monster till then unknown, and till now not sufficiently unmasked. This monster took upon itself alone to carry on our Revolution ; it directed, it executed all the operations of it, all the explosions, all the outrages : it every where appointed the most active leaders, and, as instruments, employed the profligates of every country. Its power far surpassed that which has been attributed to the Inquisition, and other fiery tribunals, by those who have spoken of them with the greatest exaggeration. Its centre was at Paris ; and its rays, formed by particular clubs in every town, in every little borough, overspread the whole surface of the kingdom. The constant correspondence kept up between those clubs and that of the capital, or, to use

* The Rights of Man, the Sovereignty of the People, absolute Equality, the annihilation of all the principles of Religion and Morality, of all the orders of Society, &c. &c.

their

their own expression, *des Sociétés populaires affiliées avec la Société mere*—"between the
"affiliated popular Societies and the parent
"Society," was as secret and as speedy as
that of Free-Masons. In a word, the Jacobin Clubs had prevailed in causing themselves to be looked up to as the real national representation. Under that pretence, they censured all the authorities in the most imperious manner; and whenever their denunciations, petitions, or addresses failed to produce an immediate effect, they gained their point by having recourse to insurrection, assassination, and fire. While Jacobinism thus subjected all France to its controul, an immense number of emissaries propagated its doctrines among foreign nations, and prepared new conquests for it.

The National Assembly, the capital, indeed we may say all France, was divided into three very distinct parties. The most considerable in number, but unhappily the weakest through a deficiency of plan and resolution, was the party purely Royal: it was adverse to every kind of Revolution, and was solely desirous of some improvements, with the reform of abuses and pecuniary privileges:—the most able, and most intriguing,

triguing, was the Constitutional party, or that which was desirous of giving France a new monarchical constitution, but modified after the manner of the English, or even the American, by a house of representatives. The third party was the most dangerous of all, by its daring spirit, by its power, and by the number of profelytes it daily acquired in all quarters of the kingdom: it comprised the Democrats of every description, from the Jacobin Clubs, calling themselves *Friends of the Constitution*, to the anarchs and robbers.

The Democratic party, which at first was only auxiliary to the Constitutional one, in the end annihilated it, and became itself sub-divided into several other parties, whose fatal struggles produced the subsequent Revolutions, and may still produce many more. But in principle, the Constitution-
alists and the Democrats formed two distinct, though confederate, factions; both were desirous of a Revolution, and employed all the usual means of accomplishing it, except troops, which could be of no use to them, for neither of them had a leader to put at the head of the army. But as it was equally of importance to both, that the

King should be deprived of the power of making use of it against them, they laboured in concert to disorganize it, and the complete success of that manœuvre was but too fully proved by the fatal issue of the departure of the Royal Family for Montmedi. The Revolution then took a more daring and rapid stride, which was concluded by the pretended Constitution Act of 1791. The incoherence of its principles and the defects of its institutions present a faithful picture of the disunion of its authors, and of the opposite interests by which they were swayed. It was, properly speaking, a compact between the faction of the Constitutionalists and that of the Democrats, in which they mutually made concessions and sacrifices.

Be that as it may, this absurd Constitution, the everlasting source of remorse or sorrow to all who bore part in it, might have been got over without a shock, and led back to the old principles of Monarchical Government, if the Assembly who framed it had not separated before they witnessed the execution of it; if, in imposing on the King the obligation to maintain it, they had not deprived him of the power

power and the means; and above all, if the certain consequence of the new mode of proceeding at the elections had not been to secure, in the second Assembly, a considerable majority of the Democratic against the Constitutional party.

The second Assembly was also divided by three factions, the weakest of which was the one that wished to maintain the Constitution. The other two were for a new Revolution and a Republic; but they differed in this, that the former, composed of the Brissotins and Girondists, was for effecting it gradually, by beginning with divesting the King of popularity, and allowing the public mind time to wean itself from its natural attachment to monarchy; and the latter, which was the least numerous, was eager to have the Republic established as soon as possible. These two factions, having the same object in view, though taking different roads, were necessarily auxiliaries to each other; and the pamphlets, excitations to commotion, and revolutionary measures of both, equally tended to overthrow the Constitution of 1791.

Those different factions, almost entirely composed of advocates, solicitors, apostate

priests, doctors, and a few literary men, having no military chief capable of taking the command of the army, dreaded the troops, who had sworn allegiance to the Constitution, and obedience to the King, and who moreover might be influenced by their officers, among whom there still remained some Royalists. The surest way to get rid of all uneasiness on this subject, was to employ the army in defending the frontiers. For this purpose a foreign war was necessary, to which it was known that the King and his Council were equally averse. No more was wanting to determine the attack which was directed, almost at the same time, against all the ministers, in order to compel them to retire, and to put the King under the necessity of appointing others more disposed to second the views of the parties. Unhappily this attempt was attended with all the success they had promised themselves, and one of the first acts of the new ministry was to declare war against the Emperor. At the same time, the emigration that had been provoked, and which was almost every where applauded even by the lowest class of people, robbed France of the flower of the

Royal

Royal party, and left the King, deprived of his best defenders, exposed to the suspicions and insults that sprang from innumerable calumnies, for which the distasters at the beginning of the war furnished but too many opportunities.

In this manner was prepared and accelerated the new Revolution, which was accomplished on the 10th of August, 1792, by the deposition and imprisonment of the King, and by the most flagrant violation of the Constitution of 1791. The latter, however, was not entirely abandoned on that day ; for the project of the Girondists, who had laid the plot of that horrible conspiracy, was then only to declare the King's deposition, in order to place the Prince Royal upon the Throne, under the guidance of a Regency composed of their own creatures ; but they were hurried away much farther than they meant to go, by the violence with which the most furious of the Jacobins, who took the lead in the insurrection, conducted all their enterprises. The Prince Royal, instead of being crowned, was shut up in the Temple ; and if France at that moment was not declared a Republic, it was less owing to any remaining re-

spect for the Constitution, than to the fear the Legislative Body was in of raising the army against it, and also the majority of the nation, who would naturally be angry to see a constitution which seemed to be rendered secure and stable by so many oaths, thus precipitately overthrown, without their having been consulted.

It was on these considerations that the opinion was adopted, that a National Convention should be convoked, to determine the fate of Royalty. Prompt in seizing all the means that might ensure the success of this second Revolution, the Assembly, under pretence of giving every possible latitude to the freedom of elections, decreed, that all its members should be eligible for the National Convention.

From that moment the Girondists daily lost ground, and the most flaming members of the Democratic party, supported by the Club of Jacobins, by the new *Commune* of Paris, and by the Tribunes, made themselves masters of every debate. It was of the utmost importance to them to rule the ensuing elections, and this was secured to them by the horrible consternation which the massacres of the 2d of September struck through-

throughout the kingdom. The terror of being assassinated, or at least cruelly treated, drove from all the Primary Assemblies, not only the Royalists and Constitutionalists, but moderate men of all parties. Of course, those Assemblies became entirely composed of the weakest men and the greatest villains existing in France; and from among the most frantic of them were chosen those members of the Convention who were not taken from the Legislative Body. Accordingly, this third Assembly, in the first quarter of an hour of their first sitting, were heard shouting their votes for the abolition of Royalty, and proclaiming the Republic, upon the motion of a member who had formerly been a player.

Such an opening but too plainly shewed what was to be expected from that horde of plunderers which composed the majority of the National Convention, and of whom *Robespierre*, *Danton*, *Marat*, and the other ring-leaders, formed their party. That of the Brissotins and Girondists still existed, and was the only one really Republican. These semi-wretches, glutted with the horrors already committed, seemed desirous of arresting the torrent of them, and laboured

to introduce into the Assembly the calm and moderation that were necessary to give the new Republic a wise and solid organization. But the superiority of their knowledge, talents, and eloquence, which their opponents could not dispute, had no power over tigers thirsting for blood, who neither attended to nor suffered motions but of the blackest tendency. No doubt they had occasion for atrocities upon atrocities to prepare the terror-struck Nation to allow them to commit, in its name, the most execrable of all, the murder of the unfortunate LOUIS XVI: and that martyrdom was necessary to bring about a third Revolution, already brewing in the brain of *Robespierre*. Fear had greatly contributed to the two former: but this was effected by terror alone, without popular tumults, or the intervention of the armies; which, now drawn by their conquests beyond the frontiers, never heard any thing of the Revolutions at home, till they were accomplished, and always obeyed the prevailing faction, by whom they were paid.

By the degree of ferocity discovered by the members of the Convention in passing sentence upon the King, and in the debates
relative

relative to the Constitution of 1793, *Robespierre* was enabled to mark which of the deputies were likely to second his views, and which of them it was his part to sacrifice.

The people could not but with transport receive a Constitution which seemed to realize the chimera of its Sovereignty, but which would only have given a kind of construction to Anarchy, if the execution of this new code had not been suspended under the pretext, belonging in common to all acts of despotism and tyranny, of *the supreme law of the safety of the State*. This suspension was effected, by establishing the Provisionary Government, which, under the title of Revolutionary Government, concentrated all the powers in the National Convention until there was an end to the war and all intestine troubles.

Although the Faction, at the head of which *Robespierre* was, had a decided majority in the Assembly, and might consequently have considered themselves as really and exclusively exercising the Sovereign Power, he was a demagogue of too despotic a nature to stomach even the appearance of sharing the empire with so many Co-Sovereigns. He greatly reduced their number,

ber, by causing all the powers invested in the National Assembly by the decrees that had established the Revolutionary Government, to be transferred to a Committee, to which he got himself appointed, and where he was sure of the sole rule, by obtaining for colleagues men less daring than himself, though equally wicked; such as *Couthon*, *St. Just*, *Barrere*, and others like them. This Committee, who had the assurance to style themselves THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY, very soon seized upon both the Legislative and Executive Powers, and exercised them with the most sanguinary tyranny ever yet heard of. The Ministers were merely their clerks; and the subjugated Assembly, without murmur or objection, passed all the Revolutionary laws which were proposed, or rather dictated, by them. One of their most horrible and decisive conceptions was that of those Revolutionary Tribunals which covered France with scaffolds, where thousands of victims of every rank, age, and sex, were daily sacrificed; so that no class of men could be free from that stupefying and general terror which *Robespierre* found it necessary to spread, in order to establish
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and make his power known. He soon himself dragged some members of his own party, such as *Danton*, *Camille des Moulins*, and others, whose energy and popularity had offended him, before one of those Tribunals, where he had them condemned to death. By the same means he got rid of the chief leaders among the Brissotins and Girondists; while he caused all the moderate Republican party who were still members of the Assembly, except those who had time and address to escape, to be sent to prison, in order to be sentenced and executed on the first occasion.

In this manner ended the third Revolution, in which the People, frozen with terror, did not dare to take a part. Instead of an army of soldiers, *Robespierre* employed an army of executioners and assassins, set up as Revolutionary Judges; and the guillotine, striking or menacing all heads indiscriminately, made France, from one end to the other, submit to him, by the means of terror or of death. Thus was this nation, formerly so proud even to idolatry of its Kings, seen to expiate, by rivers of blood, the crime of having suffered his to be spilt who was the most virtuous of all their Monarchs.

In the room of that famous Bastille, whose celebrated capture and demolition had set only seven prisoners at liberty, two of whom had been long in a state of lunacy, the colleges, the seminaries, and all the religious houses of the kingdom were converted into so many State prisons, into which were incessantly crowded, from time to time, the victims devoted to feed the ever-working guillotines, which were never suffered to stand still for a day, because they were at once the chief resource of supplies for the Government, and the instrument of its ferocity. “The guillotine coins money for the Republic,” was said in the Tribune by one of *Robespierre’s* vilest agents*. In fact, according to the jurisprudence of the Revolutionary Tribunals, the rich of every class, being declared suspected persons, received sentence of death, for no other reason than that of giving the confiscation of their property a show of judicial form.

Still blood flowed too slowly to satisfy *Robespierre*; his aim was but partly attained by the proscription of the Nobles, the Priests, and the Wealthy. He fancied, not

* *Barrere.*

only an aristocracy of talents and knowledge, but of the virtues, none of which would his trusty orators and journalists admit, save that horrid *Patriotism* which was estimated according to the enormity of the crimes committed in favour of the Revolution. His plan was to reduce the French people to a mere plantation of slaves, too ignorant, too stupid, or too pusillanimous, to conceive the idea of breaking the chains with which he would have loaded them in the name of Liberty; and he might have succeeded in it, had not his ambition, as impatient as it was jealous, too soon unveiled the intention of resorting to the guillotine to strike off the shackles with which an Assembly of Representatives of the Nation fettered, or might fetter, his power. He was about to give this decisive blow, which he had concerted with the Commune of Paris, the Revolutionary Tribunal, the Club of Jacobins, and the principal Officers of the National Guard, when the Members of the Convention who were marked out to be the first sacrificed, anticipated him at a moment when he least expected it, by attacking himself in the Assembly, with energy sufficient to rouse all the sections of the capital

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tal against him and against the Jacobins. The parties came to blows, and victory remained uncertain for several hours, but at length declared against *Robespierre*: in the space of a day that execrable monster was dragged from the highest pitch of power ever attained by any tyrant, to the very scaffold that was still reeking with the blood of his last victims. His principal accomplices in the Committee of Public Safety, in the Commune, in the National Guard, in the Revolutionary Tribunal, and many of his agents in the Provinces, met the same fate. The Revolutionary Tribunals were suppressed, and the prisons thrown open to all whom they had cast into them.

This fourth Revolution, in which the Faction then esteemed the moderate party overthrew the Terrorists and seized the supreme power, was no less complete than those which had preceded it, and produced the Constitution of 1795. All France received as a great blessing a Constitution that delivered them from the Revolutionary Government, and its infernal policy. Besides, it had, in spite of great defects, the merit of coming nearer than the two preceding ones, to the principles of order, of justice, and

and real liberty; the violation of which had, for five years before, been the source of so many disasters and so many crimes. The Royalists, considering it as a step towards Monarchy, were unfortunately so imprudent as to triumph in it; and their joy, as premature as indiscreet, alarmed the Assembly to such a degree, that they passed a law, ordaining that two-thirds of their members should be elected by the Primary Assemblies, or appointed by themselves, to form two-thirds of the Legislative Body which was to succeed the Convention. Although this decree, for which *the supreme law of the safety of the State* was also made a pretext, was manifestly inconsistent with the new Constitution, it was annexed to it, and directed to the Primary Assemblies to be accepted with it in the same resolution.

Notwithstanding this precaution, and all the means taken by the Convention to ensure its success, this decree was rejected by considerable majorities in a great number of Primary Assemblies, and particularly in almost all those of Paris and the neighbouring departments. There were some that refused to come to any resolution respecting it. Nevertheless, as the Convention had reserved

served to themselves the general examination of the scrutinies, they did not hesitate to declare, that the Decree had obtained the majority of suffrages, though the contrary was evidently demonstrated by a comparison of the whole number of the citizens who had attended the Primary Assemblies, with the number of those said by the Assembly to have voted in favour of it. In vain were the daily papers filled with the strongest remonstrances against this act of despotism. A most violent agitation appeared in the capital, and two or three sections even resolved to oppose the execution of the decree by force; but ill armed, without a plan, and without a military leader, on the first attempt they made, the Assembly ordered some detachments of the troops of the line, on whom they could depend, to march against them, and they were cut to pieces in a dreadful manner.

It was under these sanguinary auspices that the two Councils, forming the fourth National Assembly, were opened. The fresh members, many of whom were honest well-meaning men, finding themselves in too inconsiderable a minority to attempt a party, had the prudence to content themselves

selves with supporting the most moderate opinions, and with following the public judgment without anticipating it.

In the year following, the bias of the public mind, perhaps too hastily turned towards Royalty, showed itself in the elections of the members for the new Third, so clearly as to alarm the Regicides who composed the Directory, and the Conventionals, who still made a third of the Legislative Body; nor did they lose a moment in devising means for their defence. That which appeared the surest to them was, to publish notices of plots among the Royalists, and annex one or more denunciations, in terms so vague as to leave room for implicating, when necessary, all their adversaries; while by the help of this imposture they procured some secret information, artfully fabricated, and ever easily obtained through threats or rewards by those who have at command the guillotine and the public treasure.

This masked battery was ready to be opened before the members of the new Third took their seats. These at first confined themselves to the securing of a constant majority in the two Councils in fa-

vour of the moderate opinions ; but in a little time every sitting was marked by the repeal of some Revolutionary law, or by some decree tending to restrain the Executive Authority within the limits fixed by the Constitution.

The Directory, alarmed at the abridgement of their power, and dreading still more serious attacks upon it, came to a resolution of no longer postponing the blow they had been meditating against the Legislative Assembly : but no sooner did the troops which they purposed to employ in the business pass the line fixed by the Constitution, than their approach was published in several journals, and created a suspicion of the hostile intentions of the Directory. The Council of Five Hundred sent them a message on this occasion. The answer returned by the Directory was unmeaning, and more calculated to confirm than dispel the suspicion. Another message, in a loftier style than the former, was sent to demand a more explicit reply ; and, at the same time, the Council of Five Hundred charged one of its Committees to procure every information necessary to enable the Legislative Body to discover and punish the real culprits.

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The violent censures which now broke out on all sides against the Directory compelled them to withdraw their troops; and if at that moment the Council of Five Hundred, instead of wasting time in long speeches and vain threats, had boldly taken advantage of the immense power they might have derived from the wishes and favour of the People, the Directory, already weakened by divisions among themselves, would have been ruined. But the want of union, of a plan, and of energy in the majority of the Legislative Body; the imprudent security of some, the scruples or desertions of others, and the want of forecast in all, ensured the Directory success in whatever they chose to attempt; and they determined upon an enterprise of the most vigorous nature, which was completely executed in a moment without the smallest opposition.

In the morning between the 4th and 5th of September the pretended discovery of a plot among the Royalists was announced, at one o'clock in the morning, by the firing of cannon: at the same instant *Barthelemi*, a member of the Directory, was arrested; *Carnot*, his colleague, disappeared; and the Palace of the Tuileries was sur-

rounded with troops, which were immediately joined by the Guards of the Legislative Body, who were terrified, or had been previously corrupted. The Inspectors appointed by the Assembly who were still sitting in their Committee, were taken up and carried to the prisons in the Temple, as were the more obstreperous members in the majority of the two Councils, and the editors and printers of most of the Paris journals; for many of them, and most of the deputies on the list of proscription, had concealed themselves or taken flight.

No sooner was this outrageous enterprise (which under the pretence of saving the Republic destroyed the very basis of the Constitution) accomplished, than the Directory hastened to get it sanctioned by the minority of the two Councils, now consisting almost entirely of the members of the Convention, who had remained in the Legislative Body. The two Councils, thus broken and rendered contemptible, assembled by order of the Directory, not where they usually sat, but the one at a Theatre, and the other at a Hall appertaining to the School for Surgery, and completed their disgrace, not only by approving the act of tyranny that
had

had been practised against their colleagues, but by becoming themselves the accomplices or rather the passive instruments of it; for it was also by the order of the Directory, and simply on their denunciation, without any inquiry whatsoever, that they condemned all the persons arrested, or ordered into custody, to be transported to some place which should be fixed upon by the Executive Power. This egregious sentence was soon followed by a decree annulling the elections of a great many members of the new Third, who, though not included in the first list of proscription, had evinced some principles of order, justice, or liberty, incompatible with the arbitrary and tyrannic Government which the Directory had now founded on the ruins of the Constitution of 1795.

This fifth Revolution, as complete as the preceding ones, differed from them essentially in the facility and promptness with which it was effected, although the Party which prevailed, that is to say, the majority of the Directory and the minority of the Legislative Body, had to combat not only against the Constitution, but against the opinion and even against the indignation of the Public. That moral force, on which

the majority of the two Councils had un-
luckily placed all their reliance, vanished in
an instant before the physical force of a de-
tachment of troops consisting of six or se-
ven hundred men; so true is it, that the
power of the public opinion, ridiculously
exaggerated in these days, is and can be no
more, under a firm and well-ordered Go-
vernment, than a mere fancy. Men accus-
tom themselves too easily to take for public
opinion the private opinions made public by
certain writers, whose caution or audacious-
ness depends always upon the energy or
feebleness of the Supreme Authority. It is
the same thing with popular commotions:
they are easily excited under a weak Go-
vernment, which does not possess the wisdom
to prevent or the spirit to suppress them; but
a vigorous, just, and strict Government has
nothing to fear from them. The Directory,
compelled to withdraw the larger body of
troops, which they had thought necessary to
ensure the Revolution they were meditating,
discovered, no doubt, great ability in secur-
ing the two Councils, by appearing to dread
them: but it was chiefly to the energy of
their measures, and to the concentration
and promptness with which they were exe-
cuted,

cuted, that they owed their success. Two days before, the Legislative Body might, without obstruction, have impeached, arrested, and even outlawed, the majority of the Directory, who were execrated by the Public under the title of Triumvirate; and, if requisite, they would have been supported by more than 30,000 armed citizens, who, with *Pichegru* and *Villot* at their head, would soon have dispersed, and perhaps brought over, the feeble detachments of troops of the line which the Directory had at their command. The Legislative Body, relying too much upon its popularity, did not sufficiently consider, that the People, whose impetuosity is commonly decisive when allowed to take advantage in attack, are always feeble on the defensive, and totally unable to withstand every assault made previous to an insurrection, for it is always easy to prevent their assembling. It was on this principle that the Directory founded their operations, and the 5th of September too well proves how justly. That day reduced the Legislative Body, by the most degrading subjugation, to a mere disgusting caricature of National Representation; it invested the Directory with the most arbitrary and tyrannic

nic power, and restored the system of *Robespierre*, under a form less bloody, but not less pernicious ; for the Revolutionary Tribunals which that monster had established, were scarcely more expeditious than the present military ones. The power of arbitrary and unlimited transportation is, in time, as destructive as the guillotine, without possessing, like that, the advantage of exciting a salutary horror, which, by recovering the people from the state of stupor and apathy, the constant effects of terror, gives them both recollection and force to break their chains. Though, in violating the most essential regulations of the Constitution, the Directory obtained a temporary confirmation of their power, their example has pointed out to those who wish to put an end to it the path they must pursue, as has the example of the two Councils, that which they must avoid. The Factions adverse to the prevailing one, are crushed and intimidated, but not destroyed ; and the annual change of a third of the Legislative Body, and of a member of the Directory, will produce new parties or invigorate the old. Thus the catastrophe of the 5th of September, far from having consolidated the Republic,

public, or rather the despotic Oligarchy that reigns in France, may be considered as one step more towards Monarchy. In fact, the country draws nearer to it in proportion as the public power becomes more concentrated, and it is at present more concentrated than ever it was. It is now no longer to be wrested from the Popular Societies, from the Departments, from the Municipalities, or even from the Legislative Body; it is altogether in the hands of the Directory; and from them it will be torn by the same means which they employed to seize upon it.

Such is the Revolution, more or less advanced, but inevitable, which is still to be expected; and it will but prepare the way for others, if it end not in the re-establishment of Monarchy. The honour of striking off the last head of the Revolutionary Hydra is reserved for that Party, for that Hero, whoever he be, who shall have the spirit to display the white cockade, and cry aloud—VIVE LE ROI*!

The

* Let the Powers of Europe, who for seven years have been draining their countries of men and money,
and

The different periods I have brought into view in this Introduction comprehend an interval of about nine years. They were all marked with a crowd of events as extraordinary as fatal. But as my testimony can be of weight merely in such as have passed under my own eyes, I shall only give a history of those that I have really seen, from the beginning of the Revolution till the time I left France, or of those concerning

and still have no prospect of a termination to this dreadful struggle, now adopt the only—yes, the only plan from which a speedy and advantageous issue can be hoped. Let them defer claims and pretensions, even of the most legal nature, till times of justice and of peace. Let them form a new coalition, open and sincere, not against France, not to impose any mode of Government upon it, but against its tyrants, and to deliver it from oppression. Let them show these pure intentions, not by manifestoes, the sincerity of which is always open to doubt, but by actions so positive as to destroy every suspicion. In a word, let them all agree solemnly to acknowledge *Louis XVIII.* King of France and Navarre; let them all proclaim themselves his allies; let their armies be declared the auxiliaries of his; let his Majesty advance at their head towards the frontiers of his kingdom, calling upon all his subjects, as well those restored to him by repentance as those preserved to him by loyalty, to join him, and the reign of Jacobinism will be at an end.

which

which I have had it in my power to procure the most positive proofs and documents. I neither am nor mean to be the historian of that band of assassins who have entitled themselves the *French Republic*. I should be happy could I merit, by talents as much as by zeal, the honour of being the historian of my King, and at his death I shall lay down my pen.

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ANNALS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER I.

*The Retreat of the Archbishop of Sens—
Assembly of Notables—Fermentation pro-
duced by it—Mr. Necker—Memorial from
the Princes—The Duke of Orleans—
Letter from the Peers to the King—
Convocation of the States-General—Vio-
lent Insurrections*.*

THE French Monarchy, after an existence of more than thirteen centuries attended with a variety of vicissitudes, had at length arrived at the limits which nature seemed to have

* The disturbances and insurrections antecedent to this period have been related in the first five Chapters of my Private Memoirs published in 1797.

prescribed to it, and beyond which its extent became unwieldy. In this long course of time France had never been conquered, and intestine dissensions had been less frequent there than in the other States of Europe. Under the reign of *Louis XIV.* it attained the highest degree of glory and prosperity, became in a manner the country of great men of every kind, and was considered as the first of Nations. The supreme power was consolidated as well by the wisdom as by the firmness with which it was exercised.

At the death of *Louis XIV.* France, still governed by his shade, presented a grand phenomenon. The springs of Administration preserved, during a long minority, by the force of habit alone, the regular and vigorous action which had been impressed upon them; and while the fortunes of individuals were shaken, and thousands of private families ruined, by *Law's* scheme, the public security received no injury whatever; so deeply rooted was the respect for the King's authority.

During the Administration of Cardinal *Fleury* the Royal power experienced no diminution, because it was employed with moderation. The peace of 1748 introduced

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a new order of things. In 1750, the King, wishing to establish public credit by a sinking fund, laid a tax of a twentieth part on all income without distinction. The Clergy and the Provincial States remonstrated against this tax, as infringing upon their privileges, and, unfortunately for the State, their remonstrances prevailed. The Clergy were exempted from the tax, and permitted to make a voluntary gift in its stead. The Provincial States were allowed to enter into subscriptions. By this precedent it was seen that it was possible to oppose the King's will successfully, even when it was just.

The Government was farther injured by the insufficiency and versatility of its decisions upon the religious questions which arose between the Clergy and the Parliaments. The Royal authority lost also much of its weight by the great influence which interest and intrigue had in the appointment of persons to the chief employments. Men who were neither formed by habit nor taste to diligence, or who had no experience in Administration, no knowledge of business, were placed in the offices of the *Colberts*, *Louvois*, *d'Argensons*, and *Machaults*. An augmentation of the expences of the State,
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and a necessity for having recourse to new taxes to meet them, were the consequence. Thence those frequent disputes with the Parliaments, and those continual remonstrances the boldness of which kept pace with the weakness of the Ministry. Beds of Justice were multiplied, and Courts were suspended, suppressed, and re-established, without becoming more docile. Acts of authority exercised against the Magistrates made their resistance but the more illustrious.

At the same period of time there arose an audacious and guilty sect, who, under the name of *Philosophy*, created a new power, which they called *Public Opinion*, and of which they constituted themselves the organs. Its seat existed no where, and its Decrees were promulgated only by seditious writings and insolent declamations, which, far from expressing the general sentiment or wish, were found, on examination, to contain merely the opinions that some pseudo-philosophers took it into their heads to publish. They assailed both the Altar and the Throne, Morality and Subordination, sometimes with the weapons of ridicule, at others by making a question of the wisdom of all the institutions rendered sacred by
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FRENCH REVOLUTION.

their antiquity. They summoned before them Ministers, Generals, and all the Agents of public power—frequently determined their appointment and their disgrace.

Under *Louis XVI*, this new Sovereignty, which the writers and factious of all countries prided themselves on being called to participate, became still more formidable. The spurious philosophy found profelytes even in the Council of the King. The errors of the Administration grew more serious, and the very virtues of the Prince proved injurious to his power. The first years of this reign were marked by popular commotions, occasioned by the high price of corn. The Government thought that they could remedy this by addressing dissertations to the people, while insurrections, from being unpunished, multiplied.

The American war, into which *Louis XVI*. was unfortunately seduced by counsels as impolitic as they were immoral, opened in France new buds of rebellion: it at once set the example and taught the arts of it. Confused ideas of Liberty, of Independence, and of Democracy, fermented in the brains of men, and prepared a general explosion, which was accelerated by the unskilfulness of
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a Minister born a republican. He introduced republican institutions into the French Monarchy, and initiated the people into the knowledge of affairs of State. A design, not more ambitious than foolish, of acquiring great popularity, made him adopt the project of providing for the expences of the war without increasing the taxes ; which he did by loans, the interest of which considerably augmented the *deficit* that already existed in the finances. The extraordinary means to which the Ministers who succeeded Mr. *Necker* were obliged to have recourse to cover that fatal *deficit*, gave rise to the most violent declamations against the mismanagement of the revenues of the State. The opposition of the Parliaments compelled the King to convoke an Assembly of *Notables*. His Majesty proposed to them a new system of taxation, and the establishment of Provincial Assemblies throughout the kingdom. The *Notables* assented to the proposal relative to Provincial Assemblies, but rejected the idea of all new taxation, and declared themselves incompetent to consent to any. The Parliament followed this example, and invited the King to assemble the States-General. Their convocation was then immediately

diately demanded in every part of the Kingdom, and became the rallying cry of the Factious. The Ministry, embarrassed, and endeavouring to gain time, had the extreme imprudence to invite the whole Nation to assist the King with their counsels. From that moment every pretender to genius had his plan for a Constitution, his system for a Government. The Kingdom was deluged with absurd and inflammatory writings. The discontent and fermentation daily increasing very soon brought France to that state of general agitation and disorder which had preceded the commotions of the *Fronde*, the character and consequences of which are energetically depicted by Cardinal *de Retz*. "The Parliament," says he, "murmured at the edict of the Tarif, and as soon as they murmured every body's eyes were opened; but still they groped, as if in the dark, for laws which were no longer to be found. Men inquired of one another for them; and in this agitation, the questions which their mutual explanations gave rise to, obscure as they were, and venerable by their obscurity, became problematic, and for that reason odious to one half of them. The People entered the sanctuary: they drew aside the veil,

veil, which ought ever to cover all that can be said, or all that can be thought, of the rights of Nations, and of those of Kings, which never agree so well as in silence*.”

Such was the state of the minds of men in France, when *Louis XVI.* engaged to convoke the States-General. At that period commence the facts which I have undertaken to relate.

The retreat of the Archbishop of *Sens* was celebrated at Paris with those seditious transports of joy, insulting to the Royal authority, to which his extravagant conduct had exposed all the agents of the Government. The day after his departure, the mob, assembling at the *Place-Dauphine*, made a bonfire, in which they burnt a whimsical figure, dressed in a red cassock, representing the Cardinal. To prevent a repetition of this indecent farce on the following day, which had been announced, a considerable detachment of the Paris Guards was stationed at the *Pont-neuf*, with orders to let no one pass to the *Place-Dauphine*, except persons residing there. The people ran thither in a crowd, and attempted to

* *Memoirs of Cardinal de Retz*, vol. 1. book ii.

force the Guard ; but they defended themselves vigorously, and killed or wounded about a hundred and fifty persons. The mutineers were not disheartened by this check. They insulted and ill-treated all the soldiers of the watch who passed the streets in their uniform. Small bodies both of the foot and horse guards were stopped, and their arms taken away. The sentry-box on the *Pont-neuf* and some others were burnt, while acclamations were shouted to *Henry IV.* and to the French and Swiss Guards. This cajolery, which the year after brought over the former regiment to the populace, was now addressed to both as a return of thanks for their inaction, or as an invitation to them to refuse their service, should they be called upon. But it did not produce the hoped effect ; for the very next day both those regiments marched against the rebels, dispersed all the mobs, and put an end to the tumult and disorder which had prevailed for three days in the capital. It is not irrelevant to observe here, that the very persons who were seen at that juncture haranguing and exciting the populace to revolt, were those who were afterwards seen assuming the lead in all the rebellious commotions that have

taken place in the course of the Revolution. In all great towns there is a certain number of worthless people, who are idle, turbulent, and audacious, the constant promoters of disorder, because it is favourable to their rogueries, and who are ever ready to join the first ringleader willing to take their crimes into pay. The officers of the police ought to exert their utmost vigilance in obtaining a knowledge of all persons of this class; they should be acquainted with the abode of every one of them, their connections, their places of resort, and never lose sight of them, particularly at junctures in which the public tranquillity is in any danger. It is always easier to prevent than to suppress insurrections, and the surest mode of preventing them is to secure in time those persons who alone are capable of exciting them.

Sept. 1788.] At this period Marshal *Biron*, who was the Colonel of the French Guards, died; an event which may be considered as one of those that contributed to the Revolution. The subordination and fidelity of that regiment depended in a very great measure upon the attachment which the soldiers had to their Commander, whom they

respected, whom they adored, whom they all looked upon as their father. The bare dread of giving him pain was enough to hold them to their duty, and would have counteracted all the means used to seduce them. His successor was less bent on preserving those invaluable affections, than on introducing into the regiment innovations, which perhaps would have been useful in more tranquil times, but were at least imprudent at a moment when all ideas on Reform were already become Revolutionary ideas.

It was in these circumstances, the most critical in which France had ever stood, that LOUIS XVI, adhering to the engagement he had solemnly entered into of assembling the States-General, resolved upon convoking them. His Majesty might have followed the example of his predecessors, and regulated in the Council, by his own authority, every thing relative to the Constitution of that Assembly, and to the mode of calling it together. No one would have thought of disputing the King's right to adopt, for that purpose, what had been practised in any of the former Assemblies. This would doubtless have been the wisest step; but it was

too simple to meet with Mr. *Necker's* approbation. Whether with the view of signaling his return to administration by some very brilliant exploit, or of giving the greater solemnity to the King's resolution, he proposed and prevailed on the Council to adopt the measure of convoking the Notables a second time, in order to submit to their consideration several questions, as delicate as important, respecting the constitution of the States-General. This second meeting was composed of the same members as the former, and was also held at Versailles in the month of November 1788. A most violent ferment very soon appeared in every part of the kingdom, and chiefly at Paris. The great questions proposed to the Notables were points discussed by the multitude, in coffee-houses, taverns, and all public places ; and those tumultuous debates of ignorance and delirium were already disposing to Anti-monarchical notions a majority of the most formidable nature under a weak Government—that of the Populace. The Clubs at the *Palais-Royal* became daily more turbulent ; the most inflammatory writings were dispersed with an alarming facility and profusion ; yet neither the Po-
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lice nor the Minister appeared to take the least notice of them. The spirit of revolt was spreading most rapidly in all the provinces, and the plot against the Clergy and the Nobility was almost general. Such were the evident effects of that striking REPORT, upon which Mr. *Necker*, against the almost unanimous opinion of the Assembly of Notables, prevailed upon the Council to adopt the resolution of granting to the *Third Order* a double number of Representatives in the States-General.

At this critical moment the Princes delivered the following remarkable Memorial to the King, which the disaffected had the assurance to entitle the Manifesto of a War pretended to have been planned against the Third Order, but which posterity will see was a prophetic sketch of the Revolution.

The Memorial presented to the King by the Count *d'Artois*, the Prince *de Condé*, the Duke *de Bourbon*, the Duke *d'Enghien*, and the Prince *de Conti*.

“ SIRE,

“ WHEN your Majesty forbade the Notables to take under their consideration the

Memorial delivered to them by his Highness the Prince *de Conti*, your Majesty declared to the Princes of your blood, that, whenever they had any thing to propose tending to the good of your service and of the State, they might address themselves to you.

“ The Count *d'Artois*, the Prince *de Condé*, the Duke *de Bourbon*, the Duke *d'Enghien*, and the Prince *de Conti*, think it their duty to take the advantage of that declaration of your Majesty.

“ In fact, to the Princes of your blood, who hold the highest rank of your subjects, who are born your counsellors, who by their rights are interested to defend yours, to them does it particularly belong to lay truth before you, and they think themselves also bound to submit their sentiments and opinions to your Majesty.

“ Sire, the State is in danger. Your person is respected; the virtues of the Monarch ensure him the homage of the Nation; but, Sire, a Revolution is taking place in the principles of the Government, brought on by a ferment in the minds of the People. Institutions held sacred, and by which this Monarchy has prospered for so many

many ages, are made subjects of debate, and even decried as replete with injustice.

“ The writings which have appeared since the Assembly of Notables has been fitting ; the Memorials which have been delivered to the undersigned Princes ; the Petitions drawn up by several provinces, towns, or societies ; the object and style of those Petitions and Memorials, all proclaim and prove a digested system of disorder, and contempt for the laws of the State. Every author sets himself up for a legislator ; eloquence, and the art of writing, even though destitute of study, knowledge, or experience, seem to bestow a sufficient title to regulate the Constitutions of Empires. Whoever advances a bold proposition, whoever proposes a change of the laws, is sure to find readers and partisans.

“ Such is the unhappy progress of this effervescence, that opinions, which some time ago would have appeared extremely reprehensible, now appear just and reasonable ; and what good men are now hurt at, will in a short time, perhaps, pass as regular and legal. Who can say where the rashness of opinion will stop ? The rights of

the Throne have been disputed ; opinions are divided on the rights of the two Orders of the State ; very soon the rights of property will be attacked, and inequality of fortune be pointed out as an object of reform. A suppression of the Feudal Rights has been already proposed, as they are said to be a system of oppression, and a remnant of barbarism.

“ From these new systems, and the plan of effecting a change in rights and the laws, has arisen the design, announced by some Societies of the *Tiers Etat*, of obtaining for that Order a double number of votes in the States-General, while each of the two other Orders are to have only a single proportion. The undersigned Princes will not repeat what has been declared by several Committees ; the injustice and the danger of innovation, either in the constitution of the States-General or in the mode of convoking them ; the multitude of claims that would start up in consequence ; the facility, if the votes be taken individually and not by Orders, of endangering, by seducing some members of the *Tiers Etat*, the interests of that Order, better protected by the present Constitution ; the destruction of
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the balance so wisely established among the Three Orders, and of their respective independence.

“ It has been signified to your Majesty, how important it is to adhere to the only form of convoking the States-General which is constitutional, that prescribed by law and custom; to the distinction of the Orders, to the rights of separate deliberation, and to the equality of votes—those unalterable foundations of the French Monarchy.

“ It has not been concealed from your Majesty, that to change the form of the letters of convocation for the *Tiers Etat* only, and to call to the States-General double the number of the deputies of that Order, even though two voices went but for one vote, as heretofore, would be an indirect mode of allowing the claim of the *Tiers Etat*, which, taught by its first success, would not be disposed to remain contented with a concession having no object, and being of no use so long as the increased number of deputies made no alteration in the number of votes.

“ Your Majesty may also have been convinced, that the union of two deputies forming one vote, may, by their having differ-

ent opinions, occasion their votes to be drawn ; and if a drawn vote be considered as nothing, according to the usual custom, it opens a new door of resistance against the Government.

“ These principles have been unfolded, and seem to have been demonstrated in the fullest manner.

“ It only remains for the undersigned Princes to express their attachment to the State and to your Majesty. They cannot refrain from declaring, that they should be exceedingly alarmed for the State, were the pretended claims of the Third Order ratified, and for the melancholy consequences that would attend the proposed alteration in the Constitution of the States. In such an alteration they have a gloomy prospect ; they see every King, according to his views or his partialities, changing the rights of the Nation ; a superstitious King bestowing the preponderance of suffrages upon the Clergy ; a warlike King lavishing them upon the Nobility, his followers in war ; and then would the *Tiers Etat*, which at this moment would be the gainer of the superiority, have cause, from those fluctuations, to repent their success ; each Order, in its turn,

turn, oppressing or oppressed, the Constitution corrupted or unsteady, the Nation ever divided, and thenceforth ever feeble and wretched.

“ But there are still more impending misfortunes. In a kingdom where for so long a time civil dissensions have been unknown, it is painful to pronounce disunion; it is an event, however, we must expect, if the rights of the two higher Orders undergo any violation; for one or perhaps both of those Orders may disavow the States-General, and refuse to confirm their own degradation by appearing at the Assembly.

“ Who can doubt at least but that a great number of gentlemen would attack the legality of the States-General, protest against them, cause their Protests to be registered by the Parliaments, and even declare them to the States themselves?—From that moment, whatever were decreed in that Assembly would, in the eyes of a part of the Nation, no longer have the force of National consent; and in the minds of people what weight would not Protests have, which tended to exonerate them from paying the taxes granted in the States! Thus,
that

that Assembly, so much wished for, and so necessary, would only prove a source of troubles and disorder.

“ But even were your Majesty sure of experiencing no obstacle to the execution of your will, can you, noble, just, and full of sensibility as you are, resolve to sacrifice, to injure that brave, ancient, and respectable Nobility, who have shed so much blood for their country and for their Kings; who placed *Hugh Capet* upon the Throne; who tore the sceptre out of the hands of the English, to restore it to *Charles VII*, and by whom the Crown was firmly settled upon the head of the reigning branch?

“ In speaking of the Nobility, the Princes of your blood speak for themselves; they cannot forget that they make a part of the body of the Nobility, that they ought not to be distinguished from it, and that their highest title is that of Gentlemen. This was said by *Henry IV*, and they have pleasure in repeating the expressions of his noble sentiments.

“ Let the *Tiers Etat* then cease from attacking the rights of the two other Orders;—rights which, being as old as the Monarchy, ought to be as unalterable as
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the Constitution of it ; and let it confine itself to soliciting a decrease of the taxes with which it may be surcharged : then might the two higher Orders, finding in the Third countrymen who are dear to them, generously renounce pecuniary privileges, and consent to support the public burdens, with the most perfect equality.

“ The undersigned Princes request to set the example of every sacrifice that may contribute to the good of the State, and to cement the union of the Orders that compose it.

“ Let the *Tiers Etat* reflect what, in the end, might be the consequence of invading the rights of the Clergy and Nobility, and the result of the confusion of the Orders.

“ According to the general laws by which all Political Constitutions are directed, the French Monarchy must degenerate into Despotism, or become a Democracy ; two different kinds of Revolution, but both deplorable.

“ Against Despotism the Nation has two barriers—your Majesty’s interests, and your principles : and your Majesty may be assured, that real Frenchmen will never admit the
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idea of a Government inconsistent with the extent of the State, the number of its inhabitants, the national character, and the innate sentiments which at all times have attached them and their fathers to a Sovereign as to a benefactor.

“ The undersigned Princes will pursue these reflections no farther. It is with regret they have spoken of the misfortunes which threaten the State, and they will turn with more satisfaction to its resources.

“ Your Majesty, exalted by your virtues above the ordinary views of Sovereigns, who are for the most part jealous, and ambitious of power, has made concessions to your subjects, which they did not require. You have called upon them to exercise a right, the use of which they had long lost, and almost forgotten. This noble act of justice lays the Nation under great obligations; and they ought not to refuse to confide in a King who has confided in them. The burdens of the State, sanctioned by public consent, ought to be borne with less reluctance; and the Royal authority, more regular, and consequently more venerable and paternal, should find zealous defenders in
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the Magistrates, who in times of difficulty have always been the props of the Throne, and who know that, in the eyes of good citizens, the rights of their King and Country are inseparable.

“ That generous sentiment which has ever distinguished the French—*the love for the person of their King*; that sentiment, which in a Monarchy is one of the springs of the Government, and is blended with patriotism; that passion, that enthusiasm, which has produced amongst us so many great and heroic actions, so many struggles and sacrifices, which the laws could not dictate, will still appear with energy.

“ The undersigned Princes take pleasure in speaking the language of sensibility to your Majesty; they are of opinion, that they should never speak any other to their Sovereign.

“ In you, Sire, all your subjects behold a father, but it more particularly belongs to the Princes of your blood to call you by that name: you have shown the feelings of one to each of them, and gratitude makes them so earnest with your Majesty.

“ Deign, Sire, to listen to the prayer of your children, dictated by the most tender
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and respectful concern, by the desire of public tranquillity, and of supporting the power of a King, the more worthy of being loved and obeyed, as his whole sollicitude is for the happiness of his subjects.

“(Signed) *Charles-Philip, Louis-Joseph de Bourbon, Louis-Henry-Joseph de Bourbon, Louis-Anthony-Henry de Bourbon, Louis-Francis-Joseph de Bourbon.*”

At that time the Duke of *Orleans*, engrossed in courting popularity, refused his concurrence and signature to this Memorial. He assumed the greatest devotion for the cause of the *Tiers Etat*, and the tenderest sollicitude for the relief of the People. From the most sordid covetousness he was seen suddenly passing to the most ostentatious prodigality. He ordered bread to be distributed to the poor, in almost every parish of the capital ; caused fires to be made on very cold days in all the squares and principal streets ; and hired two coach-houses near the *Palais-Bourbon*, which he turned into kitchens, where his own cooks attended to roast large joints of meat, which they divided

vided among the necessitous, with a proportionate quantity of bread. These acts of liberality, published in all the papers with exaggeration and in a striking manner, gained him the favour of the People to a degree that greatly disquieted the Court, against which, since his last banishment, he retained an animosity he no longer concealed. Nor were they less alarmed for the effect which was naturally to be apprehended from the public instructions addressed by that Prince to all his bailiwicks, and which he caused to be dispersed by thousands throughout the whole kingdom. These instructions, which were drawn up by the Abbé Sieyes, contained, among other remarkable regulations, a desire that the Bailiwick Assemblies would direct their deputies to the States-General to petition for a periodical return of the National Assemblies, for an equal contribution to the taxes, and for the introduction of a law of divorce into France. It was not without the greatest rapture that the people heard those instructions read, although the most of them were far above their comprehension.

The Parliament of Paris hoped to calm the general effervescence, and to recall the
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minds of men to more reasonable ideas, by determining previously, in a solemn resolution, the principal reforms and improvements with which they judged the Nation should be satisfied. In that Resolution, entitled *A Resolution upon the present State of the Nation*, it was said, that as the approaching Assembly of the States-General might be considered as an Assembly strictly National, it was necessary, in convening it, that the King should be pleased to declare—

1. The periodical return of the States-General.
2. Their right to mortgage certain taxes to the creditors of the State.
3. Their duty to the Nation of granting no subsidy but what was definite, both as to the amount, and the time for which it was granted.
4. Their right of freely settling and appointing the funds of each department, for the revenue of the State.
5. His Majesty's resolution of concerting with the States-General for the suppression of all partial taxation of the Orders, and for the
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the substitution of common subsidies to be equally levied.

6. The responsibility of Ministers.

7. The right of the States-General to impeach and prosecute, in all cases in which the Nation at large should be concerned.

8. The power of the States-General over the Supreme Courts, so that the Courts neither ought to suffer nor can suffer any subsidy to be levied which was not granted, nor concur in the execution of any law which was not proposed or agreed to, by the States-General.

9. The personal liberty of the subject, by the obligation of immediately delivering every man who shall be arrested, into the hands of his natural judges.

10. The Liberty of the Press.

The exemptions from taxation being the constant object of the declamations of the popular writers, and the most apparent motive of the animosity of the *Tiers Etat* against the privileged Orders, the Peers on

this occasion addressed a letter to the King, in which they supplicated him to accept their wishes of bearing a just proportion of the taxes according to their revenues. The same wishes were expressed in the Instructions (*cayers*) of the Nobility of almost all the bailiwicks in the kingdom. This letter, which is at once an undeniable proof of the generosity of the French Nobility, and of the injustice of the persecutions they have suffered, was signed by all the Peers, and was conceived in the following terms :

“ SIRE,

“ The Peers of your realm are eager
“ to give your Majesty and the Nation
“ proofs of their zeal for the prosperity of
“ the State, and of their desire to cement
“ union among all the Orders, by suppli-
“ cating your Majesty to receive the solemn
“ wishes they lay at the feet of the Throne,
“ of bearing a just proportion of the taxes
“ and public burdens, according to their
“ fortunes, without any pecuniary privi-
“ lege whatsoever. They have no doubt
“ but that these sentiments would be una-
“ nimously expressed by all the gentlemen
“ of

“ of your kingdom, were they assembled to
“ deposit them respectfully in the bosom of
“ your Majesty.”

The *Tiers Etat* ought to have been satisfied with, and grateful for, these important sacrifices ; but they were sometimes represented as acts of hypocrisy, which ought not to be relied upon ; sometimes as indications of fear, which should encourage that Order to rise in their demands. By such perfidious insinuations, the Factions kept alive the distrust and agitation of the People, and disposed them to revolt. The most inflammatory pamphlets against the Clergy and the Nobility were circulated through the whole kingdom, without the least opposition ; and the most shameful caricatures, exposed to view in the squares, on the quays, and at the print-shops in Paris, excited the crowds they collected, to insult not only the Ecclesiastics, but every well-dressed man who happened to be passing. It was by such gross excesses that the vilest rabble, considering themselves as a part of the *Tiers Etat*, signalized the victory gained for that Order by Mr. Necker's Report.

The letters for convoking the States-Ge-
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neral were issued at this crisis, [*Jan.* 1789.] The affectionate and truly paternal sentiments expressed in these by the King ought to have allayed all discontent, and dissipated all uneasiness; and no doubt they did produce that effect among the reasonable, honest, and well-affected persons of the three Orders; but the turbulent and ambitious, the intriguing, and the Revolutionary fanatics, did not relax the least on that account in the project for overturning every thing, but continued preparing the means for carrying it into execution. Of these, insurrections being the most vigorous, they were found breaking out, at the same time, in several provinces, under the most chimerical pretences, and almost all directed against the Nobles, who were marked out already for the hatred of the people, by the fatal appellation of *Aristocrats*, and accused of engrossing the corn, in a printed denunciation, which was publicly distributed on the *Pont-neuf*, and at the gates of the public walks of the capital; at the same time placards were stuck up in the Fauxbourgs, which threatened a general insurrection if the price of bread was not lowered.

Such was the sad temper of the times at
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the eve of the meeting of the States-General, which was fixed for the 27th of April. It was, however, postponed till the 4th of May, as the building in which they were to assemble could not be sooner got ready. In the week preceding that too memorable day, a most violent insurrection broke out in Paris, and which was the more remarkable, as neither the motives for it nor the real instigators have ever been properly known. It is more than probable it had no other object than that of training the populace to these kinds of outrageous enterprises, and of encouraging them to resist the military. However that be, on the 27th of April, at three o'clock in the afternoon, several bands of ruffians, armed with bludgeons, appeared in the streets, dragging a figure, on which was a label, with the name of *Reveillon*; the proprietor of an extensive paper-hanging manufactory, in the *Fauxbourg St. Antoine*. The alarm spread by their uproar and threats, occasioned the shops to be shut in all the streets through which they passed. They made their first halt at the *Palais-Royal*, where they proclaimed a feigned decree of the *Tiers Etat*, condemning *Reveillon* to be hanged in ef-

figy. After dragging the figure about for a long time, they took it to the *Place de Greve*, where they hanged it, and then dispersing to different public-houses spent the night in riot and uproar.

Those who were asked what were their motives for animosity against *Reveillon*, gave insignificant answers. They accused him vaguely of having said that “the
“workmen’s wages should be fixed at *fifteen*
“*sols* ($7\frac{1}{2}d.$) a day,” and “that bread was
“not too dear at *three sols and a half* ($1\frac{3}{4}d.$)
a pound.” This was the more absurd, as in no other manufactory of the same kind in Paris were the workmen’s wages higher than at *Reveillon’s*.

The insurrection of the 27th was nothing in comparison with that which took place the following day. The officers of revenue at the barriers had observed, in the course of the night, an immense multitude of ill-dressed and ill-looking fellows pass into Paris. By break of day large crowds were seen going through the streets; they went into the shops and manufactories, where they distributed money, and carried all the workmen away by force. When they thought themselves strong enough, they ran
howling

howling frightfully, to the *Fauxbourg St. Antoine*, to attack *Reveillon's* house, which they found defended by a detachment of the Paris Guard, who kept them off for five hours. A considerable body of the insurgents at the same time attacked the house of another person, named *Henriot*, who was at the head of a manufactory of saltpetre, and was *Reveillon's* friend and neighbour. He had scarcely time to escape with his family: his house not being guarded was forced in an instant; the furniture thrown out of the windows, heaped together in the court, and set on fire. *Reveillon's* house was sharing the same fate, when all the rest of the Paris Guards, the Watch, foot and horse, the Royal regiment of Croats, the French Guards, and the Swiss, arrived at the *Fauxbourg St. Antoine*. This little army, attended with some pieces of cannon, marched in order, drums beating and matches lighted. When they drew near the ruffians, the latter were informed, by desire of the Commanding Officer, that he had orders to repel force by force, and that he enjoined them to disperse. After repeating this injunction thrice, with-

out effect, the word of command was given to make ready, and the soldiers seemed as if going to fire upon them; but, far from being intimidated by this threat, they poured a shower of tiles and slates upon the troops, by which several soldiers, and an officer of the Royal regiment of Croats, were wounded. Orders were then given to the French Guards to enter the house, and to give no quarter to those who would not leave it. The regiment having got into the court drew up in order of battle, and at first tried, by firing some shots in the air, to frighten the multitude of people that stood at the windows, on the roof, and the walls of the house; but they were only answered by a fresh shower of tiles and slates, accompanied with stones, beams, and furniture, by which some of the soldiers were crushed to death, and others severely wounded. The French Guards, seeing that all mildness was useless, now made a rolling fire in four directions.

After this first discharge, which did great execution, the soldiers entered the house, and in all the apartments met with incredible resistance. In order to get the ruffians
out,

out, they were obliged to charge with bayonets, and wounded a very great number of them.

The cellars of the house presented a most horrid sight. The ground was strewed with those wretches; some dead drunk with the wine and liquors with which they had gorged themselves; others expiring in dreadful convulsions brought on by the dyer's poisonous preparations, which, deceived in their eagerness by the bottles in which they were kept, they had taken for foreign wines.

At length night coming on put an end to the carnage and the insurrection. In the different regiments, there were in all twelve killed, and about 80 wounded. The loss of the insurgents was much more considerable; 200 remained dead upon the spot, and about 300 were wounded. Some of them were carried off on litters by their comrades, who called to the passengers—"Citizens! this is one of the Defenders of our Country, give a trifle towards burying him." Several of these wretches, who were taken to hospitals or prisons, confessed, in their dying moments, that they had

had received twelve livres for that day's work. It was never known, and but very feeble attempts were made to discover, who had provided the funds for an expence so considerable and so criminal. It was only observed, that in the morning of that very day, the Duke of *Orleans*, in his way to a horse-race at *Vincennes*, got out of his carriage in the *Fauxbourg St. Antoine*, went up to the gang of ruffians, spoke to them in the most affable manner, exhorted them to be peaceable, to go home, and to drop all resentment against *Reveillon*. He was heard among other things to say to them: "Come, come, my lads, be quiet, we are going to be happy." The ruffians applauded him, but did not follow his advice.

In the afternoon, a few minutes before the engagement began, the Duchefs of *Orleans*, returning from *Vincennes*, was impeded by the crowd in the *Fauxbourg St. Antoine*. The Royal Regiment of Croats, which had received orders to prevent all carriages from passing that way, attempted to make that of the Duchefs return; but the rebels, having got sight of her, opened a passage with their bludgeons through the soldiers,

diers, and, making their way to her, escorted, and almost carried, her coach through to the part of the street where it was free.

From these circumstances it has been conjectured that the Duke of *Orleans* was no stranger to this insurrection; but they are certainly not sufficient to prove that he excited or paid for it, and still less to raise the slightest suspicion against the constant and unalterable purity of the sentiments, and of the virtues, of the too unfortunate Duchess of *Orleans*.

Some days after, a gang of five or six hundred vagabonds appeared in the neighbourhood of *Villejuif*. They spread themselves about the country; twice, at different times, threatened to force the gates of *Bicetre*, and disappeared on the approach of the military, over-running the adjacent country, and carrying every where the dread of havock.

At the same period similar gangs assembled in several provinces. The enemies of the Court accused them of fomenting those troubles, in order to have a pretence for putting the troops in motion, and bringing an over-awing force towards Paris. This imputation was the more absurd, as at that
time

time the Ministry had no occasion for a pretence to move and remove regiments when and how they thought proper. Is it not, on the contrary, far more probable, that the insurrections which broke out at the same juncture in most of the provinces of the kingdom, and the factitious want which was every where made the plea for them, were manœuvres of the Revolutionary Faction, whose well-known plan was to arm the people; the surest means of effecting which, was doubtless to alarm the citizens of every class, for their personal safety? Is it not to the same Faction that we should ascribe those circular letters, signed *Necker*, which were addressed in the course of April 1789 to the corn-factors, farmers, millers, bakers, and graziers, enjoining them to discontinue making provision for Paris from the 20th of April to the 15th of May?—When the subject was mentioned to the Minister, he confessed that several of those letters had been returned to him, and he declared the signature to be forged. The suspicion fell upon a villain, who some days before had presented an order at the *Caisse d'Escompte*, for fifty thousand crowns, with the signature of Mr. *Necker* and

and that of his Secretary exactly imitated, for which he had received the money. The Minister, in whose name all these forgeries were committed, was certainly quite ignorant of them: but how comes it that they gave him no uneasiness? and, if they did give him any, what can he say to justify his not having used all the means of the Police and of the Courts to discover the authors of those villanies?

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

Procession and Opening of the States-General—The King's Speech—Difficulty on the Question, whether the Powers of the Deputies should be verified by Orders, or individually—Delay of the Paris Elections—Seditious Resolutions of the Electors—Conciliatory Conferences relative to verifying the Powers—Address proposed by Mr. Malouet—Anecdote of Target—Abbé Sieyes—Mirabeau.

THE opening of the States-General was preceded by all the religious ceremonies prescribed by custom. On Monday, the 4th of May, the Deputies of the Three Orders being assembled at the church of *Notre-Dame* in *Versailles*, the King and Queen went thither, at ten o'clock in the morning,

attended

attended by the whole Court. As soon as their Majesties arrived, the *Veni Creator* was sung; after which the deputies, passing in a line before the King and Queen, went out in procession to repair to the church of *St. Louis*. The *Tiers Etat* walked first, the Order of the Nobility followed, and then that of the Clergy. The Host was carried by the Archbishop of *Paris*: *Monsieur*, the Count *d'Artois*, and the Dukes *d'Angoulême* and *Berry*, held the lines of the canopy. The King, Queen, and the whole Court walked immediately after them. The streets, balconies, and windows, were filled with an immense crowd of spectators, who were seen on the very tops of the houses. Joy was painted on every countenance, and broke out in transports of applause. These applauses, however, were chiefly addressed to the *Tiers Etat*; for there was a marked suspension of them when the Orders of the Nobility and Clergy passed, and they were renewed with rapture as soon as the King appeared, thousands of hats being waved in the air, and every voice uniting in the cry of VIVE LE ROI! The good Monarch melted into tears at so many demonstrations of love, and returned them

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in the most affectionate manner by motions of his head. The Mass of the Holy Ghost, celebrated with the greatest magnificence, and the Sermon, or rather opening Speech, delivered by *M. de la Fare*, Bishop of *Nanci*, prolonged the ceremony till four o'clock in the afternoon. Cries of *Vive le Roi ! Vive la Reine !* were a thousand times reiterated by an immense crowd, and followed their Majesties to their very apartments in the Palace.

Who now would have said, that in about two months after, the Monarch, so worthy of all this homage, of all these blessings, would be seen reduced to go and throw himself into the hands of the people of Paris while in a state of insurrection?—would be seen proceeding to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, through a hundred thousand pikes crossed over his head, and giving a sanction to such enormities, by receiving from the hands of rebels, and fixing in his hat, the cockade of rebellion?

On the 5th of May, the day appointed for the opening of the States-General, the deputies repaired to the Hall appropriated for the Sitzings of the Three Orders when united, and for the particular Sitzings of the
Tiers

Tiers Etat. They were called over in the order of their Bailiwicks, and arranged by the Marquis de Brezé, the Master of the ceremonies. The Clergy were on the right side of the Throne, the Nobility on the left, and the *Tiers Etat* in front. All the arrangements that were to precede the King's arrival being made, he entered, accompanied by the Queen and his whole Court. His Majesty seated himself on the Throne, and the Queen, at his left hand, took possession of an arm-chair which was placed a step lower. The Princes, Peers, and great Officers of the Crown, ranged themselves to the right and left of their Majesties on the platform which supported the Throne.

The King then rising took off his hat, and with confidence and dignity delivered a Speech replete with wisdom, and with affection for his people, of whom he declared himself the *first friend*. This Speech is too valuable a monument for history not to be recorded at length. It is as follows :

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ This day, which I have so long and eagerly expected, is at length arrived, and I

see myself furrounded with the Representatives of the Nation which it is my glory to govern.

“ A long interval has elapsed since the last Sessions of the States-General ; and although the convocation of these Assemblies seemed to have fallen into disuse, I have not hesitated to restore a custom from which the Kingdom may draw new strength, and which may provide the Nation with a fresh source of happiness.

“ The debt of the State, which was immense at my accession to the Throne, has been further augmented under my reign ; an expensive but honourable war has been the cause of it, and the necessary consequence an increase of taxes, which has rendered the unequal burden of them more sensibly felt.

“ A general anxiety and monstrous spirit of innovation pervade the minds of men, which would terminate in a total distraction of opinions, if haste were not made to settle them by a union of wise and temperate counsels.

“ It is with this confidence, Gentlemen, I have assembled you, and with the greatest satisfaction I find it already justified, by the
dispositions

dispositions which the two first Orders have shown to renounce their pecuniary privileges. The hope I have formed of seeing all the Orders of one mind, uniting with me for the general good of the State, will not be disappointed.

“ I have already given orders for considerable retrenchments in the expences of the State. From you I expect, and shall receive with eagerness, further ideas upon this subject; but, in spite of the resource that may arise from the strictest economy, I fear, Gentlemen, it will not be in my power to relieve my subjects so speedily as I could wish. I will direct an exact state of the Finances to be laid before you; and when you have examined it, I look forward with certainty to your proposing to me the most effectual means of putting them into permanent order, and of establishing public credit. This great and salutary work, which will ensure the kingdom happiness at home and respect abroad, will essentially engage your attention.

“ The minds of men are agitated: but an Assembly of the Representatives of the Nation will no doubt listen only to the dic-

tates of wisdom and of prudence. That these have not been attended to, upon several recent occasions, you, yourselves Gentlemen, must have seen; but the spirit prevailing over your deliberations will correspond with the real sentiments of a generous Nation, whose distinguishing character has always been a love for their Kings. I will banish every other recollection from my mind.

“ I know the authority and power of a just King, amidst a faithful People attached at all times to the principles of the Monarchy, which have been the glory and the lustre of France; of which I ought to be, and invariably will be, the support.

“ But, whatever can be expected from the most anxious sollicitude for the public happiness, whatever can be asked from a Sovereign the first friend of his People, you may and ought to hope from my feelings.

“ Gentlemen, may a blessed harmony reign throughout this Assembly! and may this epoch become for ever memorable by the happiness and prosperity of the kingdom! It is the wish of my heart—it is the
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most ardent of my prayers ; it is, in fine, the reward I hope for the rectitude of my intentions and of my love for my People.

“ My Keeper of the Seals will explain my intentions more amply ; and with respect to the Finances, I have given orders to the Director-General of the Finances to unfold the situation of them to you.”

The King, before he began to speak, had requested the Queen to be seated ; but she preferred to hear him standing like the rest of the Assembly. The grace and dignity of her carriage, the modesty of her dress, and the tears that more than once started from her eyes, added a soft emotion to the strong impression made by his Majesty.

At the conclusion of the Speech, which was followed by long and loud applause, the King resumed his seat upon the Throne, and put on his hat. The Deputies of the Order of the Nobility having directly after also put on theirs, conformably to the practice of former Assemblies of the States-General, a number of the *Tiers Etat* thought they might follow the example. Instantly in every part of the Hall were heard the cries

of “ On hats ! ” “ Off hats ! ” The King, unwilling that the majesty of so august a Sitting should be disturbed by such a ridiculous dispute, had the prudence and address to put an immediate end to the noise, by taking off his own hat as if the heat were oppressive. As no one could remain covered when the King was not so, this incident was attended with no consequence, and calm was restored in the Assembly. The discourse of the Keeper of the Seals and that of Mr. *Necker*, which lasted three hours, occupied the rest of this Sitting.

On the next day (May 6,) the Order of the Clergy and that of the Nobility assembled in the Halls respectively appropriated for each of them, while the *Tiers Etat* met at the Common Hall ; whence they sent messages to the two other Orders, requesting they would join them for the purpose of verifying their powers. This ceremony, necessary for establishing the validity of the elections, had never given occasion for the slightest difficulty in any former Assembly of the States-General, in whatever manner it had been performed, for not any of the three Orders had ever been interested in the verification being made either separately or in

in common. But at a moment when the question of voting individually or by Orders, left undecided by the Government, agitated every mind; when the greatest interest and most ardent wish of the *Tiers Etat* were to establish the mode of voting individually, it was evident that they would obstinately resist whatever might be considered as an acquiescence in the mode of deliberation by Orders; in support of which, on the other hand, it was natural that the Clergy and Nobility should strain every nerve.

If Mr. *Necker*, who from the month of December preceding had thrown out this apple of discord by his Report to the Council, had foreseen the effects of it, he would doubtless have endeavoured to prevent the scandalous dissensions and animosity which the verification of the powers created among the Orders, and the consequences of which have proved so fatal. Good sense should have indicated the only alternative left. To the King, who had empowered the Nation to send a certain number of Deputies to him for the purpose of composing the Assembly of the States-General, unquestionably belonged the right of regulating the form to be used in verifying the powers and ap-

pointment of such as presented themselves to him as Deputies, who till their qualifications were legally proved could only be considered by his Majesty as simple individuals. Now, it is evident that this indispensable ceremony could only be performed by Committees of the Council, because it was in the Council that the conditions and forms which were to be observed at the elections had been discussed and decreed, and consequently to them it belonged to determine whether those had been eluded or complied with; a determination to which none of the Deputies were competent, because there was not one who, before the verification of his own powers, was qualified to verify those of others. The verification ought to have been transacted previously to the opening of the States-General, in order that none might have been admitted to that Assembly but Deputies whose titles, which were in fact their credentials, should have been judged valid. To have accelerated the business, it might have been referred to one or more Committees of the Council appointed for that purpose; and to these might have been added gradually an equal number of the deputies of the three Orders,

Orders, as their powers were verified. It is true that, to have adopted this form before the opening of the States-General, it would have been necessary to have declared it in the letters of convocation: but had the King, even on the day of opening, observed in his Speech, that the verification of powers was a necessary preliminary to all deliberation in the States-General; and had he directed that the Deputies should deliver their titles to the Keeper of the Seals, in order to be verified by Committees of the Council, no one would have questioned the regularity or the wisdom of such an order, and it would have been executed without opposition. But Mr. *Necker*, less attentive to preserve the lawful authority of the King than not to encroach upon the powers which his ignorance supposed inherent in the States-General, or with which it was a part of his plan to invest them, did not dare, or did not choose, to adopt either of those measures.

The discussions and debates carried on by the electors of Paris, in drawing up their instructions, consumed so much time, that the States-General opened without the Representatives of the capital. Not one of
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the Orders had yet nominated its Deputies. The elections of the Order of the Clergy were not concluded before the evening of the 5th of May; those of the Order of the Nobility not till the 10th, and those of the *Tiers Etat* not till the 31st. But what was more remarkable was, that the electors of this last Order, whose commission, like that of all the electors throughout the kingdom, was limited to drawing up instructions and appointing Deputies, arrogated, upon their own authority, the most extraordinary power, without either the Government or States-General making the least opposition to it. Thus, giving the signal, and setting an example of anarchy to all France, the Representatives of the capital prepared the way for the Revolution in which it was to take the chief part. The first trial of their power made by the electors of Paris, was directed against a decree of the Council for suppressing an inflammatory Journal published by Count *Mirabeau*. The insolent and ridiculous resolution they entered into upon that occasion is worthy of being recorded, as a monument of the frenzy by which the minds of people were at that time misled.

“ May 8, 1789. The Assembly of the
Tiers

Tiers Etat of the city of Paris unanimously protest against the *Act of the Council* of the 7th instant, which suppresses the Journal of the States-General, No. 1, and prohibits the continuation of it under a penalty denounced against the printer; nevertheless, the Assembly do not hereby mean either to approve or censure the said Journal.

“ They protest against it, because this Act of the Council is an attack upon Public Liberty at a moment in which it is most precious to the Nation; because it is injurious to the Liberty of the Press, claimed throughout France; because it infringes upon it at a juncture when the Nation, who have their eyes fixed upon their Representatives, have the greatest need of knowing all the deliberations of the great Assembly in which their rights, and every thing dear to them, are discussed.

“ Because this Act, proceeding from the Council at the very time that the States free and general were assembled, decides a question, which was reserved for them by the King himself, in the determination of the Council of the 27th of December last.

“ Because, finally, this Act revives, at
the

the first moment of National Liberty, a policy and regulations which had been suspended by the wisdom and goodness of the King ; and, in consequence, the Assembly of the *Tiers Etat* have unanimously resolved, that this Protest, which shall be signed by all the members present, and presented for signature to such as shall come in afterwards, shall be carried to the Deputies of the chamber of the Clergy, and to the Deputies of the chamber of the Nobility ; and that they shall be invited to join with the Deputies of the chamber of the *Tiers Etat*, in order to obtain a repeal of the said Act of the Council, and to procure for the States-General a provisional Liberty of the Press, and particularly that of printing all journals and periodical papers containing the daily acts and deliberations of the said States-General, subject nevertheless to the punishments which may be inflicted upon authors guilty of slander."

The Council did not revoke their decree, but were afraid of enforcing it ; and Count *Mirabeau*, emboldened by the protection his Journal had received in the name of the *Tiers Etat*, did not scruple to continue it under a different title.

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The electors, proud of the success of their first resolution, very soon entered into a second of a much more serious nature, and of which the consequences have been very fatal. The only commission with which they were charged being completed, by the composition of the instructions and the nomination of the Deputies to the States-General, their powers were expired, and their Assembly virtually dissolved; but, instead of separating, and returning to the common class of citizens, as all the electors of the kingdom had done, they resolved, in the last of their legal meetings, that they should continue to meet and to adjourn from time to time, as long as the States-General were sitting, for the purpose, they said, of giving their Deputies such further instructions as the forced haste of the operations of their Assembly had at present prevented. Accordingly, the Assembly was adjourned to the Wednesday following, June 7. Mr. *Necker*—for to him alone must be imputed all the faults committed by the Ministry at this period—Mr. *Necker*, instead of calling forth the full censure of the Council against this resolution, which ought immediately to have been rescinded with the severest

verest reprehension, did not seem to pay it the slightest attention. The consequence was, that, in about six weeks after, this permanent Assembly of electors were seen reigning over Paris with sovereign power; convening, by virtue of their resolution, new Assemblies of Sections, and organizing with them the most violent and general insurrection. Authority can never safely overlook any attempt made against it; nor in the depositaries of it can the pardon of such attempts be an act of virtue. Disdaining the flighter, or neglecting to punish them, is an invitation to commit more; and they very soon multiply, and become so serious, that they annihilate the Government, which loses the power to repress them. The almost sudden dissolution of the most ancient and powerful Monarchy of Europe has but too fully proved these melancholy truths.

While the weakness of the Council was thus leaving the authority of the King to the first occupant, and the example of the Paris electors was teaching the seditious with what impudence it might be braved, the Three Orders were still deliberating, in the most fastidious debates, solely upon the verification of the powers, and adhering

day after day, with greater obstinacy, to the claims about which they were divided. The conferences of the conciliatory Commissioners, who had been appointed at the instance of the Order of the Clergy, were wasted in harangues, or endless disputes, and conciliated nothing. The Orders became mutually exasperated ; and that of the *Tiers Etat* was already so firmly resolved to listen to no modification whatever upon the question of voting individually, that they would have considered in a very suspicious light any member among them who should have given indication of a different opinion.

It was under these circumstances, that a desire of preventing still more fatal innovations prompted *M. Malouet*, one of the Deputies of the *Tiers Etat*, to prepare an Address to the King, and a sketch of a Resolution or Declaration of the Commons, tending to guaranty to the two first Orders the enjoyment of their legal property, and of their honorary prerogatives *. He communicated these two papers to the Abbé *Sieyes*, and *Target* the advocate, both of whom

* See the Collection of *M. Malouet's* Opinions, page 165, vol. iii.

he met at the house of *Desmeunier*, one of their colleagues. *Target* thought it was an inconsiderate engagement to guaranty *all* the property of the Clergy and Nobility; for the additional word *legal* was not a sufficient restriction in the eyes of that lawyer, who, by the way, at the very first Sitting of the States-General, lost all the reputation for eloquence and information, he had carried thither, and became perfectly ridiculous for his oratorical bathos, puffing, and contortions. The Abbé *Sieyes*, on the contrary, was of opinion, that the guarantee of all property was but just, but he was against any mention being made of the honorary prerogatives. “What!” said *M. Malouet* to him, “have you any design of destroying the Nobility?” He replied, “Yes, certainly.” Being asked what were his means, he answered—“We shall see; it behoves us at least to set the *fulcrum*, and what we cannot accomplish our successors may.” *M. Malouet* having prevailed on *Target* to adopt his plan of address by making some slight corrections, and depending upon the majority of the *Tiers Etat*, not yet in the secret of the Abbé *Sieyes*’s projects, proposed, two days after,

after, a Declaration drawn up on the same grounds as his Address to the King; which was very well received, and was going to be put to the vote, when Count *Mirabeau* observed to the members near him, and spread through the Assembly, *that this Declaration was a Message from the Palace.* This hint instantly produced the effect intended by *Mirabeau*: the *Tiers Etat* rejected the Declaration proposed by *M. Malouet*, who from that moment became the object of a general distrust, kept up constantly by fresh fabrications.

Count *Mirabeau's* conduct on this occasion was the consequence of a pique that he had taken at an incident of which I was informed at the time by *M. Malouet*, who has since published the particulars of it in the * Collection of his Opinions printed in 1792. This anecdote is of too interesting a nature to be passed over in silence. It is thus related by *M. Malouet* himself.

“ I knew *M. de Mirabeau*,” says he, “ only by his character, from which I was greatly inclined to shun him. We took

* Vol. iii.

different sides from the first Sitzings of the Assembly, and I little expected to be fought for by him, when *M. du Roverai*, with whom I was acquainted at Geneva, and who was then at Versailles, told me from him, that he wished very much to confer with me. I accepted an appointment at *M. du Roverai's*, where I found another person from Geneva, a *M. Dumons*. This was in the end of May 1789. My distrust of *M. de Mirabeau* kept pace with my prepossession against him. I considered him as one of the most dangerous innovators, and was very much astonished at the manner in which he accosted me. ‘ I have been ‘ anxious,’ said he, ‘ for an explanation ‘ with you, because in spite of your moderation I discover you to be a friend of ‘ Liberty ; and I am, perhaps, more alarmed ‘ than you at the ferment I see in the minds ‘ of men, and at the mischiefs that may ‘ flow from it. I am not a person to sell ‘ myself basely to Despotism : I wish for a ‘ free but Monarchical Constitution. I ‘ am not for shaking the Monarchy ; and if ‘ measures be not speedily taken, the very ‘ bad heads, the great inexperience and ‘ arrogance which I perceive in our Assem- ‘ bly,

' bly, and the inconsiderate resistance and
 ' provocation given by the two first Orders,
 ' make me fear as much as you that there
 ' will be dreadful commotions. I therefore
 ' address myself to you as an honest man. You
 ' are connected with *Mr. Necker* and *M. de*
 ' *Montmorin*; you must know their inten-
 ' tions, and whether they have a plan or
 ' not. If they have a reasonable plan, I
 ' will support it.' This declaration made a
 great impression upon me, and it was suffi-
 ciently rational for me to believe it sincere:
Mirabeau's intellects were sound; he did
 not choose mischief for mischief's sake. Up-
 on several important questions, and particu-
 larly upon the constitution of the Commons,
 in a National Assembly, his opinions were
 seen to be Monarchical. I yielded to this
 explanation with a kind of confidence: I
 told him frankly, that I thought as he did;
 that I had no doubt of the necessity for a
 plan of a reform, and of a Constitution that
 might satisfy the reasonable expectations of
 the Nation—but that I did not know, and
 very much doubted, whether or not the
 Ministers had any determined plan; that
 the hesitation I had perceived in them had
 alarmed

alarmed me as much as the arrogance of many of my colleagues.

“ ‘ Well,’ said he, ‘ will you propose to them to see and confer with me. ?’

“ I consented, and informed *Mr. Necker* and *M. de Montmorin* of the result of my conversation. I found them both extremely averse to any intercourse with *Mirabeau*, from his immorality, his character, and the little confidence he merited. I contended against all these objections : I represented, that the man who with great talents announced honest views ; who, notwithstanding his immorality, did not appear to have yet engaged in any party, and would give great weight to that which he should embrace ; and who, far from offering himself to be a corrupt tool, explained himself in such a manner that it was impossible to propose to him any sort of conditions, or fictitious part, deserved to be heard. It was agreed that *Mr. Necker* should receive him the next day, and the conference took place. But *Mirabeau* expected they would open themselves to him, whereas they had only consented to hear what he had to say. He waited for the communication of a plan, and it is probable they had

not one to communicate. The conference accordingly was dry and short: he went away discontented, and said to me, as he came into the Hall, *I go there no more, but they shall hear of me*; and he has been but too true to his word. There ended our intercourse, and I was two years without speaking to him."

This anecdote and the preceding one throw a great light upon the characters and views of the three members of the *Tiers Etat*, who at the beginning of the Revolution rendered themselves most remarkable, each in his way, *Mirabeau*, *Target*, and the *Abbé Sieyes**; and also give an idea of the principles and conduct of *M. Malouet*, who distinguished himself by his integrity, by his energy, and by talents generally acknowledged. The extravagance which he found in the opinions of both parties made him commit the fault of not entirely joining that whose principles came the nearest to his own, and the system of neutrality which he adopted equally provoked the one and the other. The impartial or moderate members with whom he joined,

* Vide Appendix, No. 1.

attempted in vain to create a third party : they could never obtain consequence above a petty cabal, because such always has been and always will be the fate of moderate or middling parties, in those great political convulsions called *Revolutions*, which never offer but one alternative to all those whom their situation forces to take a part. They have but to choose between that of supporting the Revolution with and in the manner of those who are for it, and that of opposing it with and in the manner of those who are against it : if they take a third, they necessarily have the two others for enemies. This *M. Malouet* experienced ; and accordingly reproaches and insults have been heaped upon him from all sides. But he neither can nor ought to be judged of, but by the opinions he has advanced, supported, or opposed, either in the Assembly of his Bailiwick or in the States-General ; and of which he has published a collection. Some errors will doubtless be perceived among them ; for who is he that, in those times of effervescence and general delirium, had not some to reproach himself with ? but among them there will also be found repeated proofs of his good faith, of the disinterestedness

estedness of his zeal, and of the uprightness of his intentions.

At this period there was but a very small number of Deputies who foresaw to what length the fury of innovation would go, if haste were not made to set bounds to it. The union of the Orders was urged, and declared openly throughout the kingdom, to be the only means of public safety. The best disposed Deputies of the Commons, those who so soon after as the month of July, discovered the greatest reluctance to the Revolution, did not hesitate to vote for that union; and *M. Malouet*, for having pointed out some inconveniencies that might result from it, if it took place unconditionally, was from that moment stigmatized as *an Enemy to the Nation*. He succeeded, however, in persuading some of the more intelligent of his colleagues, that the two higher Orders of the State ought not to be exposed to total destruction, which they would be by insisting upon the form of voting individually, before the lawful claims, the property, and essential prerogatives of the Clergy and Nobility were secured. Such was the spirit of his Address, which was supported by the wisest men in the chamber of

the *Tiers Etat*, and which would not have been rejected by the majority, had the Clergy and Nobility accepted the conditions proposed in it, previous to the union ; but the efforts he made himself, and got others to make, upon this occasion, among the two higher Orders, being attended with no success, *Sieyes*, *Mirabeau*, *Barnave*, and the other members of the *Breton Club*, opposed this plan, which thwarted their views ; and when the union took place, it was in such a manner only as would suit them to destroy the Clergy and Nobility.

Although *M. Malouet's* Address was equally disapproved of by the partisans of the ancient Constitution and the Democrats, it cannot be denied that, in the circumstances in which it was proposed, it would have been a very fortunate event had it been adopted.

CHAPTER III.

New conciliatory Conferences—Their Inefficacy—Respective Conduct of the Three Orders—Resolution by which the Tiers Etat constitutes itself the National Assembly—Oath—Another Resolution of the Tiers Etat, in which the Word DECREE is used for the first Time—Popular Tumults excited against the two first Orders—Royal Sitting announced by Proclamation—The Tiers Etat assemble in a Tennis-Court, in defiance of the King's Orders—Oath taken there—A single Deputy refuses to sign—The Royal Sitting postponed till the 23d of June—The Tiers Etat assemble in the Church of St. Louis—Many Deputies of the Order of the Clergy and two or three Members of the Order of the Nobility join the Tiers Etat.

MEANWHILE the conciliatory conferences, which the Commissioners of the Three Orders had at first held among themselves

selves without any success, were resumed, by desire of the King, at the house of the Keeper of the Seals, in presence of the Ministers, and of *M. de la Michodiere*, *M. d'Ormesson*, *M. de Vidaud*, *M. de la Galaisiere*, Counsellors of State, and *M. de Lessart*, Master of the Requests. But they only served to keep the Assembly from proceeding to business without advancing the establishment of harmony among the Orders, or rather the unqualified acquiescence of the two first in the claims of the Third; for that was the only means of conciliation to which the *Tiers Etat* would listen. The conferences were finally broken up on the 8th of June. Thus were the States-General, that had been convoked to assist the King in the grand object of the regeneration of the kingdom, assembled for five weeks without being able to establish the legality of their meeting. The Order of the Nobility alone proceeded with dispatch in verifying the powers of their members; the Order of the Clergy never forsook the part of mediator; and the *Tiers Etat* were planning the means of constituting themselves an active Assembly, whether the other Orders consented or refused to join them.

Accordingly on the 10th of June it was resolved, upon the motion of the Abbé Sieyès, that Deputies should be sent to the Orders of the Clergy and Nobility, to request their attendance in the Hall of the States-General, to unite in submitting to the common verification of the powers. This deputation was charged to declare to them at the same time, that the general call of all the Bailiwicks was going to be made in the Hall of the States, and that default would be pronounced against the absentees.

This Resolution, which completely closed every channel of conciliation, had no power to shake the Order of the Nobility, who had declared themselves legally constituted, and had already entered upon business relative to the legislature, to the reform of abuses, and other objects; but it could not fail of making a great impression upon the Order of the Clergy, composed as it was, in part, of parish priests, by birth attached to the *Tiers Etat*; so that by the 13th of June three of them went over to that Order in the Common-Hall, and there presented their powers. The next day six more followed the example; and a much greater number

number of them would have joined, had not the *Tiers Etat* themselves preferred their remaining with their own chamber to support their party in it.

On this day, June 14, the *Tiers Etat* finished verifying the powers of all their members, and the very next day proceeded to constitute themselves ; or rather to assume some title or extraordinary denomination, by which the multitude might be made to consider them alone as invested with all the powers of the States-General, from the single circumstance of the separation of the other Orders. After much debating upon the grand question of what name they were to be called by ; whether they should take the denomination of *The Assembly of acknowledged and verified Representatives of the French Nation*, as proposed by the Abbé Sieyes ; or, *The Assembly of the People*, as suggested by Mirabeau ; or, *The Assembly of the Representatives of the greatest Part of the Nation, the smaller absenting*, which M. Mounier was of opinion was the only regular one ; or, *The Assembly of the Representatives of the French People*, which Rabaut de St. Etienne thought sufficient ; it was at last determined, upon a
new

new motion of the Abbé Sieyes, that the Assembly composed of the Deputies of the *Tiers Etat* should take the title of THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. This famous resolution, which was not adopted till the 17th of June, was drawn up in the following terms :

“ The Assembly, on consideration, after concluding the verification of their powers, find that this Meeting is already composed of Representatives directly returned by at least ninety-six in a hundred of the Nation.

“ A Representative body of such magnitude must not remain idle on account of the absence of the Deputies of some Bailiwicks, or of some classes of citizens ; for the absentees, who have been summoned, cannot prevent those who have appeared from exercising all their rights, especially when the exercise of those rights is an indispensable and pressing duty.

“ Moreover, as those Representatives only who have verified can concur in forming the National Voice, and as every Representative who has verified is to be found in this Assembly, it necessarily follows, that it belongs to them, and them alone,

alone, to interpret and make known the general will of the Nation. No other Chamber of Deputies, simply presumptive, can diminish the force of their deliberations ; in short, there can exist between the Throne and this Assembly no negative power.

“ Accordingly, the Assembly declare, that the common work of National Restoration can and ought to be begun without delay by the Deputies present, and that they ought to go on without interruption and without opposition.

“ The title of *National Assembly* is the only one suitable to the Assembly in the present state of things, because the members that compose it are the only Representatives who have legally and publicly verified their powers ; because they are directly returned by almost the whole body of the Nation ; lastly, because, the National Representation being one and indivisible, none of the Deputies, from whatever class chosen, have any right to exercise their functions separately from the present Assembly.

“ The Assembly will never relinquish the hope of being joined by the Deputies now absent, nor cease to call upon them to discharge the obligation they are under of
con-

concurring to hold the States-General: And they declare beforehand, that if the absent Deputies should, in the course of the Sessions now about to be opened, present themselves, they would receive them with open arms, and share with them, after the verification of their powers, the continuation of the labours for regenerating France.

“ The National Assembly resolve, that the motives of the present determination shall be drawn up, in order to be presented to the King, and to the Nation.”

After this Resolution all the members took the following Oath, the form of which was proposed by *Target*:

“ We promise and swear before God,
“ the Country, and the King, zealously to
“ discharge the duties with which we are
“ entrusted.”

The Assembly, convinced no doubt that this Oath, and the title they had assumed, had invested them with all the National Sovereignty, or rather anxious to leave no time for its being doubted, hastened to display and prove their power, by declaring all the existing modes of levying contributions to be illegal and null in their creations, extensions, and prerogatives; by authorising
pro-

provisionally the continuation of them, prescribing the time when they should cease ; and by giving the creditors of the State the security of the honour and faith of the French Nation. With this view, they entered into the following Resolution :

“ The National Assembly, considering that the first use which they ought to make of their powers, the exercise of which the Nation has recovered under the auspices of a Monarch, who, judging the rights of a Nation to be the real glory of Kings, has placed his own on acknowledging those of the French People, is to secure the energy of public administration ;

“ Willing to prevent the difficulties that may obstruct the levying of the contributions ; difficulties the more serious, as they are supported on a Constitutional and ever sacred principle clearly acknowledged by the King, and solemnly proclaimed in all the Assemblies of the Nation, namely, the principle which allows of no levy of money, or contributions in the kingdom, without the express consent of the Representatives of the Nation ;

“ Considering, that in fact the contributions as they are at present gathered throughout

out the kingdom, not having been granted by the Nation, are all illegal, and consequently null in their creations, extensions, and prerogatives ;

“ DECLARE, that they consent provisionally for the Nation, that the imposts and contributions, although illegally established and gathered, shall continue to be levied in the same manner as they have hitherto been, until the day of the separation of this Assembly, in whatever manner that may be caused, and no longer.

“ After which day the National Assembly mean, and DECREE, that all levies of imposts and contributions, of whatever nature, which shall not have been expressly, formally, and freely granted by the Nation, shall entirely cease throughout all the provinces of the kingdom, whatever be the form of their government.

“ The Assembly declare also, that as soon as they shall, in concert with his Majesty, have fixed the principles of the National regeneration, they will proceed to the examination and liquidation of the public debt, giving the creditors of the State from this time security on the honour and faith of the French Nation.

“ Lastly, the Assembly, now constituted to transact business, find it one of their first duties to inquire into the causes that have produced the scarcity under which the provinces are labouring, and to provide the means of remedying it in the most effectual and expeditious manner. Accordingly they resolve, that a Committee shall be appointed to proceed on that important business, and that his Majesty shall be prayed to cause all the documents of which they may stand in need, to be laid before the said Committee.

“ The present Resolution shall be printed, and sent into all the provinces.”

These Resolutions were no sooner read than the Hall resounded with the cries of *Vive le Roi!* from the members of the Assembly, and from the strangers with whom the galleries were crowded. This was either to make the People, whose fidelity was not yet shaken, believe that these Resolutions, the consequences of which they were incapable of seeing, were favourable to the King, or to deceive his Majesty himself, and remove from his mind all distrust of the intentions of the *Tiers-Etat*. Certain it is, that, from the very beginning of the Revolution, the cry of *Vive le Roi* seemed to

be chiefly devoted to the purpose of signaling every attack made upon the Royal authority. It is also to be remarked, that it was in the last of these Revolutions that the Assembly for the first time employed the word *decree*: and it was not without meaning that they adopted that expression, which having hitherto had no acception in the legislative style, might be considered as more modest than the word *ordain*, and even as respectful to the Royal prerogative. But from the verb *to decree* was immediately formed the substantive *Decree*, which the Assembly gave as a title to all its determinations, and the sense of which became progressively as unlimited as the power of those who gave it its new acception.

The ringleaders who at the Sitting of the 17th of June had emboldened the *Tiers-Etat* to make so very rash a trial of the strength they derived from the double representation, were too accute not to foresee that so serious an attack upon the rights of the Clergy and Nobility, and upon the Royal authority itself, could not be supported but by extraordinary means. The surest and most potent was the succour of the populace, who were already but too much dis-

posed to protect, after their fashion, the members of the *Tiers-Etat*, whom they considered as the defenders of their interests against the other two Orders. Hence the howlings and imprecations of that frantic multitude, who were at this juncture seen for some days surrounding the Halls of the States; hence the insults and menaces directed not only against the principal members of the two first Orders, but likewise against those of the *Tiers-Etat* who, because they were moderate, were considered as suspicious. This temper was propagated and kept alive in the provinces, through numerous emissaries, by fabricated tales sent to them from Versailles and Paris. The *Palais-Royal* was become the ordinary rendezvous of the seditious, where they publicly preached murder, assassination, and the most atrocious crimes, as so many acts of patriotism. The silence of the Council, and their irresolution upon the different measures proposed to them, favoured the manœuvres of the *Tiers-Etat* in the Chambers of the Clergy and Nobility, where the new victories daily gained by them increased the agitation that prevailed, and proclaimed an approaching division.

While

While things were in this state, the following Proclamation was made by the Heralds, on the 20th of June, between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, in the streets and cross-ways of Versailles :

“ *June 20th.* (By Order of the King.) The King having resolved to hold a Royal Sitting in the States-General, on Monday next the 22d of June, the preparations to be made in the three Halls used by the Assemblies of the Orders make it necessary that those Assemblies should be suspended until after the said Sitting. His Majesty will give notice, by another Proclamation, of the hour of his going to the Assembly of the States on Monday.”

M. Bailly, the President of the *Tiers-Etat*, had been made acquainted with the object of this Proclamation, by a private letter which was sent to him by the Marquis *de Brezé* at seven o'clock in the morning ; and to which he replied, “ that having received no orders from the King, and the Assembly having been announced for eight o'clock, he should attend where his duty called him.”

He repaired, accompanied by a great number of the members of the *Tiers-Etat*,

to the door of the Hall of the States, demanded admission ; and on being refused by the officer on guard, according to his orders, with which he acquainted him, he declared that he protested against such orders, and that he should give a report of them to the Assembly. To do this he had not far to go, as three-fourths of the deputies of the *Tiers-Etat* were already collected round him, or in the avenue leading to the Palace. There it was that, surrounded by an immense crowd of people, they declaimed in the most violent manner against this pretended act of Despotism. “ The National Assembly is to be dissolved,” said they, “ and the country to be plunged into the horrors of a civil war. Want reigns every where ; every where the People see famine staring them in the face. This we were about to put an end to, by rending the veil which covers the manœuvres of the monopolists, the engrossers, and the whole tribe of miscreants. The *Louises* 11 and 13, the *Richelieus*, the *Mazarins*, the *Briennes*, attacked with their despotism only individuals or small bodies ; but here it is the whole Nation that is made the sport of the whims of a despotic Ministry. “ Let us meet upon the *Place d’Armes*,”

d'Armes," said one of those orators ; " there we shall recall some of the noblest days of our history, *the National Assemblies of the Field of May*." " Let us assemble in the gallery of the Palace," said another ; " there we shall present a new sight, by speaking the language of Liberty, in that corrupt Hall, where a little while since the head of him who should have uttered that sacred word would have been devoted to the executioner."— " No, no," said a third, " let us go to Marli, and hold our Sitting on the Terrace:— let the King hear us, he will come from his Palace, and will have nothing more to do than to place himself in the midst of his People to hold the Royal Sitting."

At the conclusion of these declamations, the sole object of which was to alarm and exasperate the People, the Assembly decided upon transferring their Sitting to the Tennis-Court, in the street called *rue du Vieux Versailles*. There *M. Bailly* read the letter which he had received from *M. de Brezé*, and his answer to it ; which he had scarcely done, when a second letter from *M. de Brezé* was put into his hands, the contents of which were as follows :

" It was by the King's positive order,
I 4 Sir,

Sir, that I did myself the honour of writing to you this morning, to acquaint you that, his Majesty purposing to hold a Royal Sitting on Monday, and some preparations being requisite in the three Halls of the Assemblies of the Orders, it was his intention that no person should be admitted into them, and that the Sittings should be suspended till after that to be held by his Majesty."

On hearing this letter read, some demagogues cried out, that the Marquis *de Brezé* was guilty of treason against the country, and that he should be impeached of that crime, if he did not produce, in his defence, the Order written by the King's hand.

M. Bailly then rose, and, after vehemently lamenting the melancholy fate which seemed to threaten the National Assembly, proposed that they should consider what part it was proper to take under such difficult circumstances; and this consideration was succeeded by the following resolution, moved by *M. Mounier*, who was convinced, as were the greater part of his colleagues, that it was the design of the Ministry to dissolve the States-General:

"The National Assembly, considering
that,

that, being called upon to settle the Constitution of the Kingdom, to effect the regeneration of public order, and to support the true principles of the Monarchy, nothing should prevent them from continuing their deliberations, and completing the important work for which they were convened; and also considering that in whatever place they may be forced to hold their Sitzings; or in short, wherever its members shall meet, there they are the National Assembly; resolve, that all the members of this Assembly shall instantly take a solemn oath not to separate finally, but to meet, wherever circumstances may make it requisite, until the Constitution of the Kingdom, and the regeneration of public order be established and firmly settled upon solid foundations; and that after this oath has been taken by all its members, and they individually shall all and every of them, by their signatures, confirm their immoveable Resolution."

This famous oath, since called *the Tennis-Court-Oath*, was taken with the highest transports of enthusiasm, first by *M. Bailly* and the Secretaries, and then by all the members of the Assembly: at the same time the cry of *Vive le Roi* resounded through

through the Hall, and was re-echoed from the streets and from the windows of the adjoining houses.

One Deputy alone, whose name deserves to be transmitted to posterity, *M. Martin d'Auch*, a Deputy from Castelnau-dary, had the courage obstinately to refuse his signature to the oath.

At this critical moment, which was certainly sufficiently serious to engage all the attention of the Ministers, as the fate of the Monarchy hung upon it, and as the slightest fault, the least negligence on their part, would be enough to ruin the State; *Mr. Necker*, whose vanity and ignorance had created this danger, left the King at Marli, to go and see his sister-in-law who was indisposed at Paris ; or, rather, such was the pretence with which he endeavoured to conceal the pique he took at some slight corrections made in his plans of Declarations for the Royal Sitting, although the corrections were not adopted by the King without the advice of his Council, to which *Monsieur*, the Count *d'Artois*, and several Counsellors of State, had been summoned for the occasion.

As the framing these Declarations over again, and the preparations that were to be made

made at the Halls of the three Orders, could not be finished so soon as Monday the 22d, a new Proclamation was made by the Heralds, announcing that the Royal Sitting appointed for that day was fixed for the next, at ten o'clock in the morning, and inviting *the Deputies to the States-General* to attend. M. Bailly was apprised of it on Sunday, by a letter from the King, which the Marquis *de Brezé* was charged to forward to him, and the very address of which was an indication that his Majesty did not approve of the Resolutions of the 17th of June; for, instead of the title of *President of the National Assembly*, bestowed by those Resolutions on M. Bailly, the King gave him simply that of *President of the Order of the Tiers-Etat*.

Notwithstanding this letter, M. Bailly repaired the next morning, at the head of the Deputies of the *Tiers-Etat* to the Tennis-Court, which by that time was nearly filled with the people, drawn thither by the desire of being witnesses to so solemn an act of disobedience. It was certainly a sight sufficiently novel to excite their curiosity. This Sitting, however, was not held at the Tennis-Court; either because the Hall (a part of
it

it being already occupied by the crowd) was not large enough to contain at once *the representing and represented*, or because the ringleaders, who had the greatest influence in the *Tiers-Etat*, flattered themselves that they should affect the People more powerfully, and exasperate them more and more against the other two Orders, and against the Ministers, by letting them see the National Assembly wandering from street to street, in search of a place to continue their deliberations.

The *Tiers-Etat*, leaving the Tennis-Court, repaired to the Franciscan Convent, and desired permission to assemble in their church; but the good monks, who were living on the King's bounty, replied, that "they could not possibly consent that an Assembly in opposition to his Majesty's orders should be held at their house." The Deputies, disappointed at this answer, denounced vengeance, and betook themselves again to the door of the Hall of the States, where they were refused admission by the sentinel. They then proceeded without hesitation to the church of *St. Louis*, which they entered without any difficulty, as if the plan had been previously concerted; and it is
more

more than probable that this precaution had not been neglected. They ranged themselves in the nave of the church, and commenced their operations, by tendering the oath decreed at the first Sitting in the Tennis-Court, to those Deputies who had been absent from that Sitting. At this time the Bishop of *Chartres* and many Deputies of the Clergy assembled in the choir of the same church, and deputed eight of their members to the *Tiers-Etat*, to inquire if they were willing to allow the Clergy their usual precedence. The reply to this deputation was—"That the National Assembly respected the rights of the first Order of the State, and that, far from attacking the honours due to them, they would be the foremost to defend them." At the same time it was observed to those Deputies, that the seats placed on the right of the President were reserved for the Clergy;—a striking indication that all this scene had been previously concerted.

On this assurance, the Bishop of *Chartres*, who was at the head of the deputation, opened the doors of the choir; when the members of the Clergy coming forward placed themselves at the right of
1 the

the President, and announced that they attended in the National Assembly, for the purpose of verifying the powers; and laying theirs upon the table, sixteen of their members were immediately appointed on the Committee of verification*. The joy produced by this coalition broke out into long acclamations of applause, still accompanied with the cries of *Vive le Roi*.

Towards the end of this Sitting two or three Deputies of the Nobility also came in, presented their powers, and were well received. They were considered as the forerunners of the minority of their Order.

* This step, as irregular as unexpected, was not only unsanctioned by the Order of the Clergy, who, according to the King's command, had suspended their Sittings since the 20th of June, but was also entirely unknown to them, and was the effect of the intrigues and clandestine manoeuvres of the Faction to create a division between the two first Orders.

CHAPTER IV.

*Royal Sitting of the 23d of June 1789—
The King's Speech—The Orders of the
Clergy and Nobility leave the Assembly
immediately after the King, and in obe-
dience to his Orders—The Tiers-Etat,
excited to disobedience by Mirabeau, con-
tinue sitting—Answer made by them to
the Grand Master of the Ceremonies—
They confirm the Resolutions just annul-
led by the King, and declare their Per-
sons inviolable—Speech of the Abbé
Sieyes, and the Resolution it produced—
Weakness of the Council in this Circum-
stance—The Measures they should have
adopted—The Archbishop of Paris pelted
with Stones by the Mob—is rescued by the
French Guards.*

THE next day at ten o'clock in the morn-
ing, the Deputies of the three Orders re-
paired to the door of the Hall of the States-
General,

General, as directed in the King's Proclamation made the evening before. The adjoining streets and grand avenue were lined with large detachments of the French and Swiss Guards, and of the Guards of the Provost Marshal's Court (*la Prévôté*). Several parties of the *Maréchaussée* stationed about the building of the States-General dispersed the crowds that were gathering, and prevented a mob. The twelve hundred Deputies not being able to enter all at once, those of the Clergy were ushered in first, then those of the Nobility, and lastly those of the *Tiers-Etat*, who were the more out of humour at this ceremony, as a heavy rain was falling at the time. A large room, however, had been run up with boards, at the principal entry, where they all met to wait their turn to go in.

As soon as the Deputies were placed, the King made his entrance, attended by the Princes, Peers, great Officers, and retinue usually displayed on grand occasions. The moment he appeared, all the Deputies took off their hats and rose. He seated himself upon the Throne, having the Clergy on his right, and the Nobility on his left; the remainder

mainder of the benches on both sides, down to the door opposite to him, was occupied by the *Tiers-Etat*. In the middle of the Hall were the King at Arms and his four Heralds. The Ministers were seated on stools round a table, at the foot of the platform which supported the Throne: one of these stools remaining empty drew the attention of the members of the *Tiers-Etat*, and seemed to affect them deeply—it was the one that had been destined for Mr. *Necker*. This Minister had the insolence to be absent from this Sitting without previously informing the King of his intention; and by his perfidious arrogance this important measure, which he had himself proposed and judged indispensable, was rendered a thousand times more prejudicial than useful.

The cries of *Vive le Roi*, which had accompanied his Majesty from the Palace, were reiterated in the Assembly when the King entered—but only by the Clergy and Nobility, for the *Tiers-Etat* preserved a dead silence.

As soon as the King had taken his seat upon the Throne, the Deputies of the three

Orders sat down all at once, without waiting, according to the ancient form, for his Majesty's permission to do so. At this solemn Sitting, rendered memorable on the one hand by the weakness and errors of the Government, and on the other by the audacity and encroachments of seditious men, the King made three Speeches, which ought to be preserved as so many monuments of the purity of his intentions, and of his paternal feelings for the People. He began as follows:

“GENTLEMEN,

“When I determined to call you together ; when I surmounted all the difficulties with which your convocation was attended ; when I anticipated, as I may say, the wishes of the Nation, by manifesting how much I would do to make them happy, I thought I had done all in my power for the good of my People.

“It seemed as if nothing remained but for you to complete the work I had begun ; and the Nation have been impatiently awaiting the moment, when, through the concurrence of the beneficent views of their Sovereign

reign and the enlightened zeal of their Representatives, they might enjoy the prosperity which such an union should produce.

“ The States-General have been opened nearly for two months, and they have not yet been able to settle the preliminaries of their proceedings. A perfect good understanding ought to have sprung from the love of your country alone, whereas a deplorable division spreads alarm through every mind. I will believe, and I have pleasure in thinking, that the French are not altered; but to avoid throwing reproach upon any of you, I consider that the renewal of the States-General after so long an interval, the agitation which preceded it, the object of this convocation, so different from that for which your ancestors were assembled, the restrictions in the powers, and several other circumstances, have unavoidably led to opposition, disputes, and exorbitant claims.

“ It is a duty I owe my kingdom in general, it is a duty I owe myself, to put an end to these deplorable divisions; and for that purpose, Gentlemen, it is that I have again called you to meet me. As the common Father of all my subjects, as the Defender of the laws of my kingdom, I am

come to point out their true spirit, and to repress the attempts which may have been made against it.

“ But, Gentlemen, after establishing clearly the respective rights of the different Orders, I expect, from the zeal of the two first Orders for their country—I expect, from their attachment to my person—I expect, from the knowledge they have of the urgencies of the State, that, in matters which regard the general weal, they will be the first to propose a union of deliberation and opinions, which I consider as necessary at the present crisis, on which the welfare of the State depends.”

One of the Ministers then read the Declaration which I have inserted in the Appendix to the First Volume of my Private Memoirs, page 359; after which the King continued thus :

“ It is also my desire, Gentlemen, that the several advantages I grant to my people should be laid before you. But this is not to circumscribe your zeal within the circle I trace; for I shall adopt with pleasure every other measure of public good which shall be
proposed

proposed by the States-General. I may say, without flattering myself, that no King has ever done so much for any Nation ; but what other Nation has ever better deserved it by their affectionate loyalty than the French ? I will not scruple to say, that those who by exorbitant claims, or ill-timed cavils, should still protract the effect of my paternal intentions, would render themselves unworthy of being considered as Frenchmen."

This Speech was followed by the reading of the second Declaration, also inserted in the Appendix to the First Volume of my Private Memoirs, page 366.

So prejudiced were the minds to whom it was addressed, that this generous Declaration, which insured the success of every useful project that could be proposed, and which granted more than could have been expected, more than was demanded by the majority of the Instructions, was in general coldly received. It might have been suspected that the Assembly were jealous that the King had left them so little to do for the happiness of the Nation ; especially the *Tiers-Etat*, who, since the daring

flight they had taken at the Sittings held in the Tennis-Court, and in the church of *St. Louis*, considered themselves as sovereign moderators and sole arbiters of the destiny of France.

After a profound silence of some moments, which followed the reading of this second Declaration, the King concluded the Sitting with the following Speech :

“ You have now, Gentlemen, heard the result of my intentions and my views. They are consonant with the lively desire I feel of restoring public prosperity ; and if by some fatality, unthought of by me, you should desert me in so glorious an undertaking, alone I will labour for my People’s good—alone will consider myself as their real Representative ;—and as I know the instructions you have received—as I know the perfect concord existing between the most general wish of the Nation and my own well-inclined intentions, I shall feel all the confidence that must flow from so uncommon a harmony, and proceed towards the object I am anxious to attain, with the courage and firmness it must inspire.

“ Reflect, Gentlemen, that none of your
Plans,

Plans, none of your Resolutions, can acquire the force of law without my special concurrence. Thus am I the natural supporter of your respective rights, and all the Orders of the State may rely upon my inviolable impartiality. Any distrust on your part would be great injustice. I have myself hitherto done every thing for the happiness of my People ; and it is perhaps rare, that the only ambition of a Sovereign should be to prevail upon his subjects to agree at last, and accept his favours.

“ I command you, Gentlemen, now to separate, and to repair to-morrow morning each to the chamber appropriated to his Order, there to resume your Sitzings. I command the Grand Master of the Ceremonies to see the Halls prepared accordingly.”

When he had concluded this Speech, the King descended from the Throne, and left the Hall, followed by the retinue which had attended him thither. The populace that crowded the Courts of the Palace, restrained no doubt by the emissaries of the Assembly, kept, for the first time, the most profound silence as his Majesty passed ; and

the moment when he had shown himself more worthy than ever of the love of his subjects, and of the acclamations by which it was usually expressed, was that chosen by the Factious to rob him of this homage.

After the King had left the Hall, almost all the Bishops, some Priests, and the greater part of the Nobility, retired, in obedience to the command with which the King concluded his Speech. The rest of the Deputies remained in their places, at a loss what part to take : they looked at one another, as if waiting for a leading opinion to put an end to this state of irresolution. The impression which the second Declaration and the King's Speech had made on several of them, was upon the point of carrying it ; a movement almost general throughout the Hall intimated an intention to obey, and to accept the means of conciliation announced by his Majesty ; but *Mirabeau*, justly fearing that a conduct so prudent, and so proper in all respects, would leave him only a part to play with which his ambitious and turbulent spirit could not be satisfied, unhappily in an instant changed the disposition

tion of the Assembly by the following Speech: "Gentlemen, I confess that what you have just heard might be for the welfare of the country, if the gifts of Despotism were not always dangerous. Why this dictatorial language, this train of arms, this violation of the National Temple, to command you to be happy? Who gives you the command? Your Vicegerent. Who makes imperious laws for you? Your Vicegerent: he who should receive them from you; from us, Gentlemen, who are invested with a political and inviolable supremacy; from us, to whom alone twenty-five millions of men are looking for certain happiness, as it must be granted, given, and received by all. But the freedom of your debates is fettered; a military force encircles the States. Where are the enemies of the Nation? Is *Catiline* at our gates? I insist that, arming yourselves with your dignity and your legislative authority, you recollect the religious force of your oath; an oath that does not suffer you to separate until you have established the Constitution."

This harangue, or rather this absurd and seditious flourish, delivered with the most
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emphatic vehemence, misled the Deputies. They became warm and irritated, as if the King, who had only adjourned the Sittings till the next morning in order to give the workmen time to put the Hall into a proper state, had really dissolved the Assembly. But it was the height of effrontery and absurdity to call on the Tennis-Court Oath to sanction disobedience and revolt, as a religious duty, as if that Oath had not just been pronounced null, and as if it had bound the Assembly to the ridiculous obligation of finishing the Constitution at a single Sitting.

The Marquis *de Brezé*, on finding that it was made a question whether the orders, with the execution of which he was charged, should be obeyed or not, advanced into the middle of the Hall, and said a few words which were not heard. “Louder!” “louder!” was cried on every side. He then said, in a more confident tone, “Gentlemen, you have heard the King’s intentions.”

“Yes, Sir,” replied *Mirabeau*, “we have heard the intentions which have been suggested to the King; and you, who cannot be his organ

organ in the States-General—you, who have here neither seat nor voice, nor right to speak, have no business to put us in mind of his Speech. However, to avoid all ambiguity and procrastination, I declare, that if you have been commissioned to turn us out of this place, you must go get orders to employ force; for we will not quit our seats unless compelled at the point of the bayonet."

A great number of the Deputies cried out together, "Yes! yes! nothing but force can drive us hence: the Assembly are determined."

M. Bailly observing that the Marquis *de Brezé* was not satisfied with this answer, and supposing, no doubt, that he only waited to be informed of the intentions of the Assembly in a more regular manner, thus addressed him in his official capacity of President:—"The Assembly resolved yesterday that they would continue to sit after the Royal Sitting: I can make no change in that Resolution; it must be discussed by the Assembly."

It was not true that the *Tiers Etat* had entered into such a Resolution the day before.

fore. *Mirabeau* would not have failed to adduce it, had it been so. Thus a very gross falsehood was all the pretence made by the Assembly for disobeying the orders of the King.

“Am I, Sir,” said the Marquis *de Brezé*, “to carry this answer to the King?” “Yes, Sir,” replied the President.

The Marquis *de Brezé* being gone, the Assembly had no business more pressing, than to confirm all the Resolutions it had taken previous to that day, and especially the one adopted at the Tennis-Court, in spite of the Declaration by which it had just been pronounced null. *Camus*, one of the Deputies, maintained, that the King’s order could be considered only as a mere act of the Council’s, and consequently that no scruple should be made in disobeying it.

Mirabeau, who had been the first to excite the Assembly to rebel against the King, fearing he should likewise be the first brought to account, now exclaimed, with infinitely more hypocrisy and fear than with real enthusiasm—“Blessed be Liberty for ripening such noble fruit in the National Assembly!—Let us ensure our work by declaring the persons of the Deputies to the States—

States-General inviolable. This is no manifestation of fear ; it is to act with prudence ; it is to bridle the violent counsels that besiege the Throne." This proposition was received with ecstasy, and the discussion it produced was soon crowned with the following Resolution :

“ Considering the necessity of securing the freedom of speech, and the right of each Deputy to the States-General to inquire into, censure, and denounce, every kind of abuse and impediment to public happiness and to liberty, the National Assembly RESOLVE, That the person of each Deputy is inviolable ; and that every person, whether public or private, every corporation, court, or commission whatsoever, that shall, during or after the present Session, reproach, call to account, or cause to be called to account, ill-treat, or cause to be ill-treated, arrest, or cause to be arrested, detain, or cause to be detained, the person or persons of one or more Deputies, for any proposition, advice, opinion, or speech, advanced, given, or made by him or them, in or to the States-General, or in any of their official Assemblies or Committees, shall be deemed infamous ;

mous, and traitors to their country: And also, that on all such occasions, the National Assembly shall use all necessary means to cause those who shall be the authors, instigators, and excitors of them, to be brought to account."

This Resolution passed by a majority of 443 against 34. It instantly dispelled all anxieties, all fears, and inspired even the most timid with boldness. The effect it produced appears in the Speech made at the end of this Sitting by the famous Abbé Sieyes, as well known for his cowardice as for the obscure depth of his political notions. The following are the most intelligible expressions of that Speech, such as they were collected by one of his hearers:

"However stormy, Gentlemen, the circumstances in which we are appear, we have still the light of Truth and Principles to guide us. Let us only dare to consult these, and we shall see embarrassments, difficulties, uncertainty, and even fear, if any existed in the National Assembly, flying at once before them. Let us inquire what powers we exercise—what mission this is on which we
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are dispatched from all parts of France, and brought together within these walls. Are we but the Officers, the Agents of the King? His voice has been heard; there can be no more doubt, and we must obey. Are we, on the contrary, the Envoys of the People? Let us then discharge our mission. How awful, how august, the deputation of twenty-six millions of men united for Liberty! Is there a single man amongst us who could be willing to resign the high trust vested in him, and dare to return to his constituents with language of this kind—*You have placed the destiny of France in hands too feeble; I have been afraid—send some man in my stead, more worthy of appearing your Representative?* Gentlemen, we have sworn, and our oath shall not be in vain, we have sworn to restore the French People to their rights. The authority which has appointed us to this great undertaking, upon which alone we depend, and which is very able to protect us, is certainly very far yet from calling to us, *It is enough—stop here.* On the contrary, it accuses our tardiness, hastens us, demands a Constitution; and who can form it without us?—who can form it but ourselves? Is there a
power

power upon earth that can snatch from you the right of representing your constituents—that can prevent our deliberating upon the interests entrusted to us? *Do you not, Gentlemen, feel that you are to-day all that you were yesterday?* Yes! we will continue our labours—we will pursue our sublime mission, disdaining the sorry aulic ceremonies that would in vain have tainted the National Sanctuary: in vain, for the virtues of Liberty are well able to purify the pollutions of Despotism.”

He concluded by moving “that all the Sittings of the National Assembly should be public, and that no authority could render them secret.” This was resolved with loud applause.

There could not have been a more favourable opportunity for dissolving this insolent and rebellious Assembly, and for re-establishing the Royal authority; which could not but be entirely overthrown if so solemn an act of disobedience were left unpunished. The King, encouraged by the enthusiasm which the sanction he had just given to the petitions contained in the majority of the Instructions could not fail to excite
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in the provinces, might without fear have used violence, if not against the whole Assembly, at least against those of it who, not satisfied with remaining assembled contrary to his Majesty's express orders, rejected his favours with the most disgusting arrogance. The Sitzings held at the Tennis-Court, and at the church of *St. Louis*, but too surely prognosticated that such would be the conduct of the majority of the *Tiers-Etat*. The Council should have foreseen it, and should have been prepared for the part it would be necessary to take: for there was but one. When the account was given by the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, of a part of the Assembly refusing to obey the orders of the King, and of the Resolutions adopted upon the motions of *Mirabeau*, *Camus*, and others, a message should have been sent to all the members of the two first Orders, who could have been found, to repair immediately to their respective Chambers; and at the same time his Majesty should have returned to the Hall of the States with his Ministers, and have addressed the Deputies remaining there nearly in the following terms:

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“ GENTLEMEN,

“ The answer which my Grand Master of the Ceremonies has transmitted to me from you, and the seditious Resolutions which you have just adopted, contrary to the express orders I gave you to separate, allow me no longer to consider you as the Representatives of a Nation whose love, respect, and fidelity for its Kings have never failed. I can see in you only rebellious subjects, traitors to their constituents and to their country ; or madmen, totally lost in a deplorable frenzy. You have therefore shown yourselves *unworthy* or *incapable* of co-operating with me for the good of the State ; and although my feelings lead me to consider you in the latter view, that you may be treated with less severity, yet must I not suffer you any longer to impede the accomplishment of my intentions for the comfort of my people. My Keeper of the Seals will inform you of my will.”

At this time the members of the two first Orders, having been summoned, would have entered the Hall ; and as soon as they had taken their seats, a Declaration should have been

been read, by which the King should have pronounced the separation of the States-General, and convoked a new Assembly. This Declaration, which might have been drawn up in a quarter of an hour, should have contained the following arrangements :

“ Whereas the spirit of sedition and of revolt which has been manifested in the Assembly of the States-General from its opening, and particularly in the Resolutions of this day, adopted at a Sitting held contrary to the orders of the King after the Royal Sitting, cannot but essentially endanger the safety of the State, his Majesty has ordained, and doth ordain as follows :

“ ART. I. The King dismisses, dissolves, and separates the present Assembly of the States-General, and orders that a new one be convoked, according to the forms heretofore used for the convocation of the said Assemblies, and conformably to the instructions to be sent by his Majesty to all the Bailiwicks of his kingdom.

“ ART. II. The ensuing Assembly of the States-General shall open at latest on the 1st of October next, in such place as his Majesty shall appoint in the Instructions.

“ ART. III. The members of the present Assembly who remained sitting at the end of the Royal Sitting, and who voted for the seditious Resolutions then adopted, are declared ineligible for the ensuing Assembly, and for all those that may be convened in future: for which purpose his Majesty orders, that a list of the said Deputies shall be published, with as little delay as possible, and sent to all the Bailiwicks, to be hung up in the Hall appropriated to the elections.

“ ART. IV. The King declares the said Resolutions null and void, and orders all the Deputies, of whatever Order, mentioned in the foregoing article, to depart from Versailles in twenty-four hours at latest, and to repair to their respective Bailiwicks without passing through Paris. He expressly forbids them to assemble in any number, or at any place whatsoever; and all under pain of being taken up and tried for rebellion. He further orders, and under the same penalty, that those Deputies, upon whose motions the said Resolutions were adopted, do quit the kingdom within eight days, forbidding them to re-enter it until further orders. His Majesty enjoins all Military Commandants, Muni-

Municipal Officers, and Officers of Police, as well as the Commanders of the *Maré-chaussée* and their Lieutenants, to attend to the execution of the present Declaration."

The troops which were then at Versailles, or in the neighbourhood, would have furnished force sufficient to secure the execution of these orders, and to prevent commotions among the People, whose indignation, besides, it would have been very easy to have turned against the seditious Deputies, by a letter from the King to all the Bailiwicks, to inform them of the circumstances and motives of the dissolution of the States-General. But, unfortunately, the disobedience of the *Tiers-Etat* had not been foreseen; and when the Marquis *de Brezé* gave the King an account of the answer with which he was charged, and of what was going on at the Assembly, his Majesty, unwilling that the day in which he had given his subjects such affecting proofs of his love should be marked by any act of severity, chose rather to treat the conduct of the *Tiers-Etat* with scorn, than to punish it by a dissolution of the States-General; and the Ministers thought, no

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doubt,

doubt, that they were bound to respect that opinion.

The Assembly rose of their own accord at three o'clock in the afternoon, after passing a Resolution, that a Minute of its transactions should be printed that day, in which they were dishonest enough to report only the first Declaration, without taking any notice of the second.

The people who crowded all the avenues to the Hall to a great distance, remained quiet while the Sitting lasted; but when the Deputies came out, the expressions of some of them passing from mouth to mouth produced such a ferment, that an insurrection against the Palace was apprehended. The mob moved to the Terrace, pressing into the Courts, and even into the Palace itself, every where venting rage and imprecations at the report which had been spread, that Mr. *Necker* was, or was going to be, dismissed*.

In the evening the Archbishop of Paris, passing in his carriage by the church of *St. Louis*, was pelted with stones by a large

* Mr. *Necker's* conduct on this day has been related in the First Volume of my Private Memoirs, page 166.

group, and had but just time to throw himself out of his coach into the church, the doors of which were immediately shut. His retreat was favoured by the French Guards, merely by their interfering, without either striking or arresting any of those ruffians; one of whom said, "We know that my Lord the Archbishop's person is sacred and we have no objection to his person, only to his head." The motive or pretence given for this outrage was the absurd suspicion that it was the Archbishop who had suggested the idea of the Royal Sitting—a suspicion founded solely upon this prelate's assiduity in paying his court to the King.

CHAPTER V.

The Minority of the Clergy go over to the Tiers-Etat—The Archbishop of Paris compelled by fresh Outrages to promise that he would join the Assembly next Morning—An Anecdote which proves that Mr. Necker was no Stranger to the Commotions—The Minority of the Nobility, with the Duke of Orleans, go over to the Tiers-Etat—Deputation from the Electors of Paris and from the Patriots of the Caffé de Foi to the Tiers-Etat—Arrival of the Archbishop of Paris, and of the Bishops of Autun and Orange at the Assembly—Resolution, and Deputation of the Order of the Nobility—Letters from his Majesty to the Presidents of the two first Orders—A Letter from the

the Count d'Artois — M. de Cazalés's Opinion—The Majority of the Nobility go over to the Tiers-Etat.

ON the 24th of June the Orders of the Clergy and Nobility assembled each in its Chamber, in obedience to the command of the King, while the Deputies of the *Tiers-Etat* resumed their Sitting in the Hall of the States.

Violent debates arose in the Chamber of the Clergy upon the question, whether the King's command was to be obeyed; or whether the members should join the *Tiers-Etat*.

At length, after a discussion of two hours, the President collected the votes. The Assembly was composed of 294 members—for the junction there appeared 142, and against it 143. The remaining nine broached a third opinion, and obstinately persisted in it, notwithstanding it was represented to them, that, if they did not join one of the other two sides, their votes could be of no avail, and would not be counted. The opinion, therefore, for conforming to the King's command, and proceeding to deliberate by Orders, had the majority. It was in a manner

ner doubly confirmed, by the votes having been taken by the two provisional Secretaries, *Dillon* the clergyman of Pouzauges, and *Thibaut* the clergyman of Soupes, both well known for their Revolutionary sentiments. The question being thus settled according to the opinion of the majority, the President (*Cardinal de la Rochefoucault*) pronounced the Resolution, and broke up the Sitting, in spite of the loud remonstrances of the minority, who maintained that the question was not decided, and insisted on the votes being told again. The granting of this demand would have been out of all rule, unless all the members in the majority had consented to it without exception; but far from appearing inclined to do so, they rose from their places and left the Hall. As they went out, one of the minority, (*Coulmier*, the Abbé of Abbecour,) and one of the Ushers of the Chamber of the Clergy, named *Oudelot*, standing at the window over the door, pointed out to the People, with their fingers, those who had given the strongest opposition to the junction with the *Tiers-Etat*. This gesture, more or less marked, was at once the signal and the *regulator* of the outrages offered them. Those who

who had voted for the junction remained in the Hall, keeping with them the nine members whose votes had not been counted.

One of the chief members of the minority (the Archbishop of Bourdeaux) then pretended that the Assembly was not regularly broken up, as the majority of its members were still sitting ; that that majority had an indisputable right to continue the deliberation, which could not be considered as terminated, because the refusal of taking the votes again had deprived the nine Deputies whose votes had not been counted of the power of joining either side. As this reasoning, which was more specious than solid, was not refuted by any of the prelates who were present, it could not be expected from the inferior clergy ; they therefore all agreed, that the deliberation might be continued, notwithstanding the absence of all the members whose opinion was really and very regularly that of the majority. The Archbishop of *Vienne* being requested to take the President's chair, had the unpardonable weakness to consent, and to preside at the mock continuation of a Sitting regularly adjourned. The question upon obeying the King's command was resumed, and the

the nine members, whose votes had not been given, and could not then be legally taken, induced by the most insidious arguments, and particularly by the dread of the menaces and violence of the mob, adopted the opinion of the minority; which, being hastily drawn up in the form of a Resolution, was signed by all present, and became their title of admission into the Hall where the Deputies of the *Tiers-Etat* held their Sitzings, and where they appeared, having at their head the Archbishops of *Vienne* and *Bordeaux*, and carrying with them the Journals of their Chamber, either for the purpose of proving that they really formed the majority, or of preventing an entry being made in them, the next day, of the legal Resolution, showing that, far from being the majority of the Deputies of their Order, they were the minority, rebels and deserters *. The 143 members who composed the

* The first care of the legal majority in the Sitting next day was to repair the loss, or robbery, of their Journals; to enter the Resolution that had been adopted before, on a new book, and to testify the illegality of the acts and conduct of the minority. The Resolution taken on that occasion, with the Minutes of the Sitting, and also

the real majority of the Clergy, being pointed out to the populace as public conspirators, were exposed to the most shocking outrages. The Archbishop of Paris was assaulted with still greater violence than he had been the day before: the populace waiting for him at the door of the Chamber of the Clergy, besieged his carriage, and poured forth menaces of the most bloody nature; which they would have executed, if the skill of his coachman, and the goodness of his horses, had not saved him from a shower of stones, only one or two of which struck him, and wounded him slightly in the face. In the evening the house of the Mission, where he lodged, was attacked by the people, who threw stones and broke the windows, calling out loudly for the head of the prelate. Detachments of the French, Swiss, and Body Guards hastened to his relief; but the multitude were not appeased till a Declaration was read to them, in which the Archbishop promised to join the *Tiers-Etat* next day.

also of those that followed till the 27th of June inclusive, the real period of the junction of the Clergy with the *Tiers-Etat*, have been preserved, and will one day be made public.

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While the house of the Mission was thus beset, the Count *de Barbançon*, a member of the Order of Nobility, and Commandant of Noyon, went to Mr. *Necker*, accompanied by two Deputies of that Municipality, to solicit an aid of money, intended for the purchase of pease and beans to supply the scarcity of corn experienced by that town. They were denied admission, under pretence that Mr. *Necker* was shut up on business, and could see nobody. But as the wants of Noyon were very urgent, they went and informed the head-clerk, *Coster*, of it, begging him to obtain them immediate attention. This clerk said that demands of that nature must be made to the Minister himself, and that he would send a person with them to conduct them to Mr. *Necker*. They found him in a large parlour, with about sixty persons, who were not less disconcerted than himself at their entrance. They there observed the most flaming Deputies of the *Tiers-Etat*, certain members of the minority of the Order of the Nobility, and some gentlemen and ladies of the Court, who composed the political and intriguing Coterie of *the Great Man*. The Minister advanced hastily, and
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with an air extremely embarrassed, towards the Deputies of Noyon, and asked them what the object of their visit was. *M. de Barbançon* told him, and pressed him warmly to grant Noyon an aid of 6000 livres. “ I will give an order for it immediately,” replied he: “ do you want any thing else?” *M. de Barbançon* requested that the sum might be in gold, that the Deputies, who were going to set out with it, might carry it with more ease; upon which the order for its being paid in gold was given to the clerk who accompanied them. At that instant a young man entered the room, his hair dishevelled, and his bosom all open, crying like a madman, “ *Bravo! bravo! bravo!*—we have just made the Archbishop of Paris promise to join the Order of the *Tiers-Etat* to-morrow.” The presence of the Deputies of Noyon at the familiar entry of this emissary from the populace, increased Mr. *Necker*’s embarrassment to an extreme degree. This circumstance, however, is not sufficient to prove, what was believed at the time, that he was the secret instigator of the outrages committed upon the Archbishop; yet this popular Committee assembled at his house, and the easy and sudden

sudden introduction of the Deputy from the mob, at a moment when his door was open only to his intimates, make it no rash conjecture, that, if he did not advise or approve the outrages in question, no doubt was entertained by the perpetrators, but that the result of them would be highly agreeable to him; and *M. de Barbançon*, after having been a witness to the pleasure which the news spread among the persons who were then with the Minister, called on the *Baron de Juigné*, brother of the Archbishop of Paris, and offered to make a formal declaration of it.

The Assembly of the Order of the Nobility was much less tumultuous than that of the Clergy had been. The debates upon the Declarations of the King were carried on peaceably, yet without coming to any determination. The Chamber remained divided into two parties, the more numerous of which, being that which was for maintaining the deliberation by separate Orders even on the verification of the powers, experienced no loss; and in this Sitting none of the members of the opposite party left the Order.

In the Chamber of the *Tiers-Etat* no

more mention was made of the Royal Sitting than if it had never taken place; all was, no doubt, judged to be over, in regard to that, from the Resolutions which had been adopted the day before, and which, from the inaction and silence of the Council, might be considered as tacitly acquiesced in. The Assembly were murmuring loudly at the military train with which the Hall was surrounded; but the violent declamations in which they indulged on that occasion were suspended by the reading of a letter which *M. Bailly* received from *Mr. Necker*. The address and style of it were so profoundly, so humbly respectful, that several members of the Assembly could not refrain from shrugging their shoulders in indignation or pity: so true it is, that the homage which degrades *him* who gives, can never honour *him* who receives it. But *Mr. Necker*, whom the *Tiers-Etat* had been flattering beyond all measure for four-and-twenty hours, no doubt thought himself bound also to flatter them in his turn, and the following letter discharged this debt:

“ Mr. President, I received on the part of the Order in which you preside *such affecting marks of kindness and esteem*, that I

beg of you without delay to have the goodness to become, on this occasion, the interpreter of my profound gratitude. To merit the sentiments with which your Order has the goodness to honour me, I must redouble my zeal for the Public, and my devotion for the King. How delightful will it be to discharge this obligation! Happy should I be if my ability were equal to my intentions! I could wish that the purity of my heart, and the integrity of my views, might be my title to the confidence of which I yesterday received the most pleasing demonstrations, and which I would only make use of to promote with all my power the re-establishment of a concord, which becomes daily more necessary and more urgent, and which would restore to the King his tranquillity, and to the Kingdom all its energy. I have the honour to be, with the most respectful attachment, &c."

Thus it was that Mr. *Necker*, madly intoxicated with the credit he thought his situation preparing for him, forgot the Royal Sitting, and did not perceive that, by concurring in this manner to annul the effect of that grand procedure, which he had himself advised and directed, he became the most

most guilty accomplice in the debasement of the Ministry, and in the absolute destruction of the Royal authority. With less vanity, and with more knowledge of history and of mankind, he would not have been so foolishly the dupe of the nauseous adulation and gross incense lavished upon him, which he considered as the just reward of his virtues; but he would have seen that the hopes and love of the People were directed solely towards him, in order to divert them from the Throne, the foundations of which were to be sapped. The authors of our fatal Revolution were too skilful not to know, that in all those in which the People are made the instrument, the violent passions must be supplied with an idol and victims. Mr. *Necker* was here the idol, which was pulled down and broken when no longer wanted: the Royal Family, the Clergy, and the Nobility, were the victims.

Mr. *Necker's* letter produced the effect he promised himself upon the majority of the Assembly: all his plans were attended with the greatest applause.

The hundred and fifty-one deserters from the Clergy entered the Hall at this moment, attended by their Usher, who took a place

among those of the *Tiers-Etat*. The moment they appeared, “*Vive le Roi!*” resounded through the Hall; a very extraordinary mode, surely, of honouring the readiness of this division of the Clergy in setting the example of disobedience to the orders of his Majesty.

When they had all taken their places, in order to know their exact number their names were called over; which engaged a great deal of time, as every name was followed by long applauses, which were redoubled with rapture at those of the four or five prelates who figured in this too memorable list. The Assembly could not do honour enough to the Archbishop of *Vienne*; but not being able to bestow the chief place upon him, yet unwilling that he should remain undistinguished in the crowd of Deputies, they seated him at the President's right hand.

On the next day, June 25, the minority of the Nobility, consisting of 44 members, among whom was the Duke of *Orleans*, joined the *Tiers-Etat*, and were received with the same raptures as the Deputies of the Clergy had been the day before—with this

this difference, that the cry of—“*Vive le Roi!*” was preceded by the cry of—“*Vive la Patrie!*”—(Long live the Country!) in honour of each Deputy as he entered; but when the Duke of *Orleans* appeared, nothing was heard but—“*Vive M. le Duc d'Orleans!*”—(Long live the Duke of *Orleans!*)

These noisy acclamations having reached the ears of the populace who were about the Hall, soon wound up their curiosity to see what was passing, to such a pitch of fury, that they forced by the outer guard, and beset the doors of the Hall, which they were threatening to break open, when the Assembly, apprised of their proceeding, deputed *M. Bailly*, in his capacity of President, accompanied by the Archbishop of *Vienne* and *M. de Clermont Tonnerre*, to go and appease them. He begged them very politely to retire, assuring them, that, agreeably to a Resolution just adopted by the Assembly, a Deputation was going to be sent to the King, to demand a free access to the Hall, and that very likely the doors would be thrown open to-morrow to the People—meaning to *the populace*; for, previous to this, notwithstanding the express orders

given to the sentinels placed at the door of the States, not to suffer strangers to go in, the soldiers only asked whoever came, whether they were Deputies or not? This question was put in a loud voice, but the sentinel who put it, at the same time whispered the persons to say *Yes*; so that this pretended strictness consisted in keeping out of the Hall such persons as were too shabbily dressed to be mistaken for Deputies.

M. Bailly's promises appeased the populace; and tranquillity being completely restored, the three Delegates from the Assembly returned to their places, and *M. de Clermont Tonnerre* delivered a speech on the junction of the minority of the Nobility with the *Tiers-Etat*. “Long ere this,” said he, “should we have yielded to the dictates of our consciences, and to the impulse of the patriotism which animates us as well as you, had we not been restrained, and in a manner fettered, by imperative instructions. Our satisfaction would be complete, were it not disturbed by the pain we feel on being separated from those who, although detained by express directions and a rigorous oath, are already in heart and mind united to the National Assembly. We shall doubt-

doubtless have the happiness of seeing them shortly amongst us : their Constituents will yield to the goodness and justness of their reasons, and comply with the wishes and desires of their worthy Representatives, who, on receiving new instructions, will hasten to unite in the general Hall."

This drew a reply from *M. Bailly* in the following terms :—" Gentlemen, your presence spreads consolation and joy here. We said, on receiving the Deputies of the Clergy, that we still had wishes to form ; that brothers were still wanting to this august family : these wishes have been gratified almost as soon as formed. We see an illustrious Prince, an impressive and respectable part of the French Nobility ; we give a loose to the joy of receiving them, and to the hope of seeing the whole of that Nobility joining them here. Yes, Gentlemen, what is missing will be restored to us ; all our brethren will come hither ;—it is reason and justice, and the interest of their Country that call them, and that assure us of their coming. Let us labour together in the regeneration of the Kingdom, and for the comfort of the People. We will bear truth to the foot of the Throne, and her voice will be

heard by a King, whose piety may be deceived, but whose intentions are just and whose goodness is unalterable; by a King, who desires the union that has now taken place, and who will ever be the father of his people."

These speeches were heard, not only with the greatest attention, but with the most lively emotion. The Assembly then proceeded to nominate the Deputation to be sent that very evening to solicit the King that the doors of the Hall might be opened to the Public; and it is to be remarked, that this Deputation was composed of six Ecclesiastics, six members of the Order of the Nobility, and twelve of the *Tiers-Etat*.

When the transports of joy which had been excited by the junction of the minority of the Nobility were a little abated, it was observed, that the desertion of 44 out of 300 could not be considered as any mighty triumph; and the Commons, wondering that some others on whom they had depended, especially *M. de la Fayette*, had not yet appeared, inquired the reason from those who had joined; who in their justification said, that they only remained in their Chamber with the hope of soon bringing the

the whole over to the common centre of the National Representation.

In the midst of all these successes, the *Tiers-Etat* still remained distrustful and uneasy. They pretended, and spread abroad, that though the King was obliged to continue Mr. *Necker* in the Ministry, he did not co-operate with him, but gave his whole confidence to the ARISTOCRATS. This fatal word, which has since been the signal for so many crimes, became from that moment, throughout France, the cry for conspiring against all who did not profess the blindest devotion and an unbounded deference to the will and pretensions of the *Tiers-Etat*, who were thus themselves exercising the most tyrannical aristocracy against all who continued attached to the Monarchy and to the King.

One of the surest means of inflaming the People, and of leading them into every excess, is to set abroad some phrase, or words which they do not understand; for they attach ideas of their own to them, and never fail to select such as are most calculated to hurry them into the direction intended. Thus it was, that when the Clergy and Nobility, who were to be rendered odious, were

were once described to them under the name of *Aristocrats*, they never inquired, nor do they know to this day, the real meaning of that word. All they understood was, that an *Aristocrat* was the being most to be detested by them; and it was immediately supposed by each individual, that the vices or crimes most abhorred by himself were inherent in *Aristocrats* *.

By this time the troops had adopted the unmeaning cry of—“*Vive la Nation!*”—(Long live the Nation!) Its peace and prosperity were certainly in great danger; but the only danger it had to fear for its life, or rather for the lives of some of its members, sprung from the fury of those who were the loudest in roaring “*Vive la Nation!*”—At Paris and Versailles, the French Guards and the soldiers of the Swiss regiments were seen living on the most familiar footing with the townsmen. They mixed in parties,

* I once asked a shoemaker, who was a Royalist, what an *Aristocrat* was? He answered—“*A man who does not love our good King!*” Another mechanic, of a religious disposition, to whom I put the same question, told me—that an *Aristocrat* did not believe in God! A third said—that *Aristocrats* were *Devils of Hell*, who wished to starve the poor!

holding

holding each other by the arm in the public walks, and at the coffee-houses and taverns, where they partook of sumptuous entertainments, at which the soldiers were never behind-hand in crying—" *Vive la Nation!*—*We know no orders but those of the Nation!*"

The Electors of the *Tiers-Etat* of Paris, who pretended to institute themselves into another political body, although the commission for which they had been empowered to assemble was fully discharged, went to the *Prévôt des Marchands**, and requested to have one of the Halls in the Town-house; to which he at first objected, but in the end consented.

The first subject on which they debated

* The *Prévôts des Marchands* were officers of the highest antiquity. Their jurisdiction extended over the revenues of the *Hotel de Ville*, the quays and wharfs of the river, &c. In 1357 they purchased, in conjunction with the *Echevins* or Municipal Magistrates, the house where in ancient times the Dauphins resided, called *Maison de Grève*, which gave the name of *Place de Grève* to the area on which it stands; and on the site of that and some others round it they afterwards built the *Hotel de Ville* or Town-House. The *Prévôt* was appointed by the King, sometimes for two years, or renewed every year at his pleasure.

was the appointment of a Deputation, consisting of twenty of them, to go and compliment the Assembly upon their having constituted themselves a National Assembly. The inference from this strange compliment, as it was addressed only to the Deputies who had violated, or at least exceeded, their instructions, was, that those who had remained faithful to the intentions of their constituents deserved to be condemned.

This Deputation, evidently illegal, was admitted with the greatest ardour as soon as it appeared. It had the merit of being the first that had ever been sent to the Assembly, whom its leader addressed in the following Speech :

“ The Assembly of the Electors of the *Tiers-Etat* of the city of Paris, penetrated with respect and gratitude for the wise, firm, and patriotic conduct of the National Assembly, seize the first moment of their union after so many ineffectual efforts, to express to them their feelings on the occasion, and to declare that they will invariably abide by the Resolutions of the National Assembly, and particularly by that of the 17th of this month. They will at all times, and in all circumstances, support the design of it :—

they will ever keep in remembrance the names of the Clergy and of the Nobility who have joined the National Assembly."

The Assembly, convinced that a coalition with the *Tiers-Etat* of the capital could not but increase and consolidate their own power, received the Deputies in the most honourable manner. The President invited them within the bar, and benches were immediately placed between those of the Clergy and Nobility, on which they seated themselves.

These details may appear minute; but they are essential in tracing the progress of the disorganization of the Government, and of the developement of the Revolution.

Soon after the Electors of Paris were seated, another Deputation was announced from the majority of the Nobility. It was long debated whether this Deputation should be received or not; and it was at length agreed to, against the opinion of *M. Bailly* and Count *Mirabeau*; the former maintaining, that from the manner in which the Assembly was formed they could not receive such a Deputation; which was as much as to say, that, being constituted the National Assembly, they could not suffer themselves to

to be addressed by the title of the *Tiers-Etat*; the latter arguing, that the Deputies were unqualified, and could not even be considered as Deputies of Bailiwicks, the verification of their powers being illegal.

The subject of the Deputation was thus announced by their Speaker:—“Gentlemen, we have the honour of being commissioned by the Order of the Nobility to communicate to you a Resolution adopted by them yesterday. From their eagerness to abide by the King’s first declaration you will see the conciliatory spirit by which they are animated, and their anxiety for a return among the three Orders of that harmony which ought never to be impaired among Frenchmen, and without which it is impossible to promote the welfare of the State, that first duty of every good citizen.”

Having said this, the Speaker read the Resolution to which he had alluded; the substance of which was, that the Nobility fully adopted the arrangements contained in the King’s first Declaration.

M. Bailly’s answer, which had been previously dictated by the Assembly, was as follows: “Gentlemen, I am instructed by the National Assembly to tell you, that they
can

cannot but receive you as Noble Deputies not yet united; as gentlemen, fellow-citizens, and brothers. They have the more readily concurred in admitting you, as they are anxious you should witness their unceasing desire for your union with this august Assembly, and of which you seem to give us hopes."

To this Deputation succeeded another commissioned to present an Address to the Assembly, signed at a coffee-house (*the Caffé de Foi*) by all the coffee-house loungers at the *Palais Royal*, to the number of about three thousand, and entitled "A Letter from the Deputies of the three Orders of Paris."

This Deputation, irregular as it was, was eagerly admitted, and received with acclamation. Their leader contented himself with reading the letter, which was addressed to *M. Bailly*, and only contained the same felicitations and compliments as had been addressed to the Assembly by the Deputation of the Electors.

To this *M. Bailly* made the following reply: "Gentlemen, although you are not sent by an Assembly regularly convened, the National Assembly thought they might admit you. They thank the citizens of Paris
for

for the testimonies of their satisfaction. You witness, Gentlemen, the union which reigns in this Assembly ; you know our zeal, and you may inform the capital, that we are about to labour with ardour for the public good : but the Assembly think it their duty to request the citizens of Paris to prevent the agitation that might arise among the people, and urge them to consider peace as the first means necessary to the labours of the National Assembly, and the regeneration of the Kingdom." Thus every instant was cemented the coalition of the Assembly with the citizens of the capital, of whatever class they were.

On the same day the number of the Clergy was increased by the acquisition of two more prelates, the Bishops *d'Autun* and *d'Orange*. They were soon followed by the Archbishop of *Paris*, conducted by the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*. Although he was expected, his air of resignation, and the marks that were still thought visible in his countenance of the outrages he had received the two preceding days, affected the whole Assembly. Benedictions were heaped upon him; which brought tears into his eyes, and so moved him, that he could scarcely articulate.

late the following words: "Gentlemen, the love of peace leads me this day into the midst of this august Assembly;—allow me to express my sincere devotion to my Country, my King, and the good of the People. I should esteem myself happy if even at the expence of my life I could contribute to so desirable a conciliation, for which I shall ever pray."

M. Bailly replied, that this act of peace and union was the only crown wanting to his virtues; then turning to the Deputies of the *Caffé de Foi*, who had obtained the honours of the Sitting, he said to them—
"With the most lively joy do we this day see your worthy Archbishop taking his seat in the Assembly."

At this Sitting was also read the speech which *Target* had composed for the Deputation that were to wait upon the King, to solicit that the doors of the Hall might be opened to the Public. The harangue was found so ridiculously bombastic, that another was ordered to be drawn up by persons appointed; which prevented the Deputation from taking place the same day, as *M. Bailly* had promised the populace. This had a very ill effect; for the Parisians, hear-

ing no more mention made of it, and ignorant of the motives of the delay, imagined that the petition had been presented to the King, and that he had refused to receive it. The arrival of another regiment at Versailles confirmed this opinion, and increased the discontent and murmurs. At the same time the perseverance of the majority of the Order of the Nobility and of the one half of the Deputies of the Clergy in their resolution of not joining the *Tiers-Etat*, was attributed to the instigations of the Court. In a word, every thing conspired to render the King's situation hourly more embarrassing and more dangerous. The Ministers met frequently, but without coming to any determination, or adopting any plan. In the evening of the 26th their Committee had continued long sitting, and yet at seven o'clock next morning they held another at the Palace, to which *Monsieur* and the Count *d'Artois* were summoned. Scarcely were they arrived when the Duke of *Luxembourg*, President of the Nobility, appeared in the name of his Order, and demanded an audience of the King. He was introduced, and presented to his Majesty the Resolution which the Order of the Nobility had

had adopted the day before, and which they had sent to the *Tiers-Etat* by the Deputation named for that purpose. The Resolution was conceived in these terms :

“ The Order of the Nobility, eager to give the King every mark of their love and respect ; impressed with gratitude for the persevering care his Majesty deigns to take to effect a desirable harmony among the Orders ; considering of what consequence it is that the Nation should enjoy, without delay, the great benefits of the Constitution pointed out in the second Declaration of the King’s intentions, read at the Sitting of the 23d instant ; impelled also by their desire of being able to liquidate the public debt, and to realize the dereliction of their pecuniary privileges, as soon as the establishment of a constitutional basis shall permit them to deliberate upon those subjects, in which they deem the National honour as well as the dearest wishes of their Constituents to be concerned, do, notwithstanding the form of the said Sitting, during the term of the present States-General, and provided no precedent be drawn from it for the future, accept and have accepted, purely and simply and without any reserve, the propositions com-

prised in the Fifteen Articles of the King's first Declaration, read at the Sitting of the 23d instant. Accordingly, and in order to execute the Fifth Article of the said Declaration, they have resolved, that his Majesty shall be prayed to convene the Nobility of the Bailiwicks, by whose peremptory instructions the Deputies may hold themselves bound, in order that they may receive fresh instructions from their Constituents, and as soon as possible take into consideration, in the form prescribed by the King, the Articles comprised in the second Declaration of his Majesty's intentions, which the Order of the Nobility consider as a most affecting pledge of his justice, and of his love for the people."

After the King had read this Resolution, he thus addressed the Duke of *Luxembourg* :
" From the fidelity and affection of the
" Order of which you are President, I ex-
" pect its union with the other two. I have
" reflected upon it," said he firmly, " and
" am determined to make every sacrifice,
" *rather than that a single man should pe-*
" *rish on my account.* Tell the Order of
" the Nobility, therefore, that I entreat them
" to join the other two Orders. If this be
" not

“ not enough, I command them to do it as
“ their King—it is my will. If there be
“ one of its members who believes himself
“ bound by his instructions, his oath, or
“ his honour, to remain in the Chamber,
“ let me know : I will go and sit by him,
“ and die with him if it be necessary.”

The Cardinal *de la Rochefoucault*, the President of the Clergy, the Archbishop of *Rheims*, and the Archbishop of *Aix*, had been sent for by the King on the same subject. His Majesty told them, in the first place, that the troops had revolted, and that he was under the necessity of yielding to the wishes of the *Tiers-Etat*. “ The troops revolted, Sire !” exclaimed the Archbishop of *Aix*. “ When, and where ? Is it the *Gardes-du-Corps*, or the *Swiss* ? Your Majesty knew nothing of it yesterday ! Is it the work of a day—of a moment ? The troops revolted, and your Majesty not know it before to-day ! Have the Commanders and Officers been all ignorant of it, or are they in the plot ? Have they all betrayed their King ? No, Sire, this is not possible ! this cannot be true !—Your Majesty is now deceived, or you have been deceived for three
N 3 months.”

months." The King, staggered and perplexed, went with the Deputies of the Clergy into another apartment, where they found the Queen, *Monsieur*, the Count *d'Artois*, the Duke of *Luxembourg*, and the Prince *de Croui*. The Archbishop of *Aix* continued the same train of reflections:—" Yes, Sire!—Yes, Madam!" said he to their Majesties, " you are deceived in order
" that you may be induced to yield. The
" double representation has been given to the
" *Tiers-Etat*, that they may have double
" votes—and that not only for some parti-
" cular objects, but for all. Your Ma-
" jesty's Declaration marks distinctions that
" will not be admitted. It is careful of
" the interests of the King, of the Clergy,
" and of the Nobility; but, Sire, the in-
" tention is to annihilate the Orders, and
" with them the Royal authority must
" fall."

At the conclusion of this conference the King said that he would send his answer; and on the same morning his Majesty addressed copies of the following Letter to the Cardinal *de la Rochefoucault* and the Duke of *Luxembourg*:

" MY

“ MY COUSIN,

“ Solely engaged in providing for the general welfare of my Kingdom, but particularly anxious that the Assembly of the States-General should proceed to the objects which interest the Nation, according to the voluntary acceptance of my Declaration of the 23d of this month, I urge my loyal Nobility * to join the other Orders without delay, to accelerate the accomplishment of my paternal intentions. Those who are restricted in their powers may do so without voting, till they shall have received fresh ones. This will be another mark given to me by the Nobility of their attachment; for which, my Cousin, I pray God to keep you under his holy protection.”

On the same day a regulation of the Council was made and published, authorizing the Deputies who thought themselves restricted by their instructions to apply to their Constituents for new ones, and settling the form in which such applications should be made.

However, the Order of the Nobility, in their deliberation on the King's letter and

* In the Copy sent to the Cardinal, the words here were “ my faithful Clergy.”

on the answer made by his Majesty to the Duke of *Luxembourg*, were much divided in opinion. More than eighty of them, foreseeing how fatal the union of the three Orders and the voting individually, which was an inevitable consequence of it, would be to the King and to the State, persisted in the resolution of remaining in their Chamber, agreeably to the Declaration of the 23d of June. In the midst of these debates the Marquis *de La Queuille* was seen reading with emotion a letter he had just received, and conversing very warmly with those who stood near him. The letter was from the Count *d'Artois*, most strongly urging the Nobility not to postpone their union with the Order of the *Tiers-Etat*, and hinting that his Royal Highness knew to a certainty that a longer resistance would endanger the King's life. The moment these words were heard, the Count *de St. Simon*, putting his hand to his sword, cried out—"Gentlemen, " the King is in danger! Let us fly to the " Palace! our place is about his Majesty!" " If the Monarch be in danger," observed *M. de Cuzalés*, " the Monarchy is in danger " too; to save the Monarchy is our first " duty, and we will then go and form a " rampart of our bodies around the King."

On this exclamation the debate was about to be renewed; when the Duke of *Luxembourg* rose hastily, notwithstanding the remonstrances of many members of the Assembly, and broke up the Sitting, crying out—“There is now no room for debate: Gentlemen, the King’s person is in danger, and who amongst us will hesitate an instant?” These words went to every heart; nothing was thought of but the danger which threatened the King, and they ran immediately to the Hall where the other Deputies were united. The same resolution was adopted without hesitation by the members of the Clergy.

When they entered the Hall there were very few either of the Deputies or strangers remaining. Each Order having taken its place, the Cardinal *de la Rochefoucault*, as President of the Clergy, said—“We are led hither by our love and respect for the King, our solicitude for the Country, and our zeal for the public good.” The Duke of *Luxembourg* announced the union of the majority of the Nobility by saying—“Gentlemen, the Order of the Nobility resolved this morning to repair to the National Hall, as a mark of their respect for the King,
and

and as a proof to the Nation of their patriotism."

M. Bailly replied to both Orders in the following words: "Gentlemen, the happiness of this day, which unites the three Orders, is such, that excessive joy disables me from answering you as it deserves; but this joy is itself an answer. The Order of the Clergy was already with us, and now the Order of the Nobility joins us. This day shall be entered among the celebrations of our calendar; it completes our family; it for ever puts an end to the dissensions which have mutually afflicted us; it accomplishes the wish of the King: and the National Assembly, or rather *the States-General*, will now proceed without confusion or interruption to the regeneration of the Kingdom and of public happiness."

These expressions of peace and brotherly union were heard with delight. The Order of the *Tiers-Etat*, composing alone the *National Assembly*, and exercising exclusively the supreme power, which they had attached to that title, abdicated both, by admitting themselves to be no more than a portion of the *States-General*; and although *M. Bailly* had not been formally authorized by
his

his colleagues to make that abdication, they certainly would not have disavowed it; and it would have become irrevocable, if the two other Orders had insisted upon it as an essential condition of their union: but they took no notice whatever of it. By their silence it might have been suspected, that all agreed to prefer the title of National Assembly to that of States-General: but the suspicion would have been unjust, as the Clergy, ever since the 27th of June, had in a former Protest insisted on maintaining the distinction of the three Orders. That Protest was openly presented to the Assembly by the Cardinal *de la Rochefoucault*, was read aloud, delivered to *M. Bailly*, and received without opposition. The Archbishop of Vienne, speaking in the name of the Ecclesiastical Deputies who had first joined the *Tiers-Etat*, declared, that they did not concur in it; and *Mirabeau* taking it up read it, argued against it with a tone and gestures of the greatest contempt, and threw it on the table.

The Abbé *de Montesquiou*, far less convinced than dazzled by *Mirabeau's* speech, unfortunately spoke as Agent of the Clergy, and in an embarrassed manner owned and retracted

retracted the pretended error, which he said a new light had now dispelled. On this the Archbishop of *Aix*, impelled by his zeal for the honour of the Clergy, and for the preservation of their principles, addressed the Assembly in the following terms :

“ Gentlemen, we have assembled in the Common Hall, in conformity to the King’s Declaration *. In complying with arrangements, we do not relinquish principles. By yielding on some points we do not mean to infringe others. The Orders may be united without being confounded. We may consent to deliberate in common upon objects in common, without renouncing the right that belongs to us of deliberating in Orders. We yield to the King’s desire, which is founded upon *the voluntary acceptance of his Declaration by the Order of the Clergy* †. We lay before you the Resolutions we adopted previously to our joining you. We refer to the first

* The King’s Declaration in the Royal Sitting of June 23, 1789.

† The King’s Letter to the Cardinal *de la Rochefoucault*, President of the Order of the Clergy, dated June 27, 1789.

Article of the King's Declaration, by which *his Majesty desires that the ancient distinction of the three Orders of the State should be fully preserved, as essential to the constitution of his Kingdom**. We refer to the eighth Article, by which *he excepts such objects as cannot be discussed in common, those which relate to the ancient and constitutional rights of the three Orders, the form to be given to the next States-General, feudal and seigneurial property, ecclesiastical dues, and the honorary prerogatives of the two first Orders†*. We refer to the ninth Article, by which it is declared, *that the special consent of the Clergy is necessary in all discussions in which religion, ecclesiastical discipline, or the system of the Ecclesiastical Orders and of the secular and regular Societies might be concerned‡*. We do not protest against deliberating conformably to these arrangements, because it is in conformity with these very arrangements *that we reserve the right belonging to the Clergy, according to the con-*

* The King's Declaration of June 23, 1789.

† Idem.

‡ The King's Declaration of June 23.

*stituent laws of the Monarchy, of assembling and voting separately**. We may even observe, that the part of the Clergy who left us, made a *reservation of the distinction of the Orders, and other reservations of rights*†. We are not foes to harmony and union among the Orders, when we challenge their rights, and when we make use of the very rights we challenge to unite with you. We may make use of them to concur in the views of conciliation which the King has expressed to us ; *but we neither can nor will relinquish them*‡. This is the substance of the Protest we have delivered to you ; and if it be a crime, it is to be imputed to our predecessors for eight hundred years past § : it is to be imputed to the Constitution of the State itself, which the King is bound to maintain as well as we, and which is not to be destroyed by the opposition of one Order.

* Resolution of the Order of the Clergy of June 27.

† Resolution of a part of the members of the Clergy, of June 19.

‡ Resolution of the Order of the Clergy of June 27.

§ Distinction of the Orders, under Charlemagne. See Hincmar.

“ You

“ You are not to imagine, Gentlemen, that the distinction of the Orders was established and maintained for the advantage of the two first. It is of importance to the *Tiers-Etat*, as well as to the Nobility and Clergy. The same rights and powers are exercised by each Order, and it is upon just and essential reasons that this distinction is founded, for its principle is in the welfare of the People. It arises from no particular title, nor is it derived from any period of time. It is not a transient law, but it is that law of reason which adjusts rights to interests, and which ought to pursue the vanity of them. When first towns became free, and were privileged from all dominion but that of the Sovereign, they directed their own affairs. They had their own expences to bear; they exercised the right of consenting to their contributions; they appointed Deputies and Representatives, and formed an Order in the Nation. The Lords of Manors were at that time, by the nature of their possessions, the natural and necessary Representatives of their vassals. In the States-General they were personally, as they now are, by their Deputies, and as they still are individually in the Elective Assemblies,

the protectors of the interests of their vassals, of those of the landed property, and of half the kingdom. The case was the same with the Clergy, who are appointed to be the teachers and ministers of religion, which forms the common interest of every class of citizens, and who are possessors of estates which give them a share in all the interests of the lands. These are the titles that are superior to all privileges, the titles which confer powers on the two first Orders, by associating them for the welfare of the Nation at large. No single Order can arrogate the right of destroying the titles of the other two; a right which it partakes with them. It is only together, and with the King's approbation, that the Orders can, I will not say overthrow, but make the slightest alteration in the constitution. Nothing can be done lawfully but by the laws themselves. They must direct and justify the measures to be taken for their reform. They must regulate the changes to be made in themselves, and the laws declare, *that the opinion of one Order cannot bind another; that the opinion of two Orders cannot injure or affect the third.* We are in the presence of each other;—we may communicate our sentiments
dis-

at liberty, and reap all the advantages of discussion. Is it when the Orders are united that they are to be more divided than ever? Can you imagine that the Resolution of one Order alone, in which the other two had neither concurred nor been consulted, is to overthrow all their principles, and destroy all their powers? The only question that has been yet discussed is that on the verification of the powers. Why cannot this question be examined and argued with temper? Why must the people assemble, all the citizens be in motion, discord enter into every society, and the peace of the capital be disturbed? I know not what projects and changes are preparing, though the earth seems to quake beneath our feet. Is this Common Hall then no longer what it ought to be, a common centre of mutual conference and information, but an abyss destined for our destruction? How could the People of themselves be sensible of the great importance of this question, or rather of that of its intended consequences? It relates to no tax, to none of the heavy duties by which men can be oppressed, nor to any of those interests by which the People can be affected. This question in itself no way

concerns them; and the utmost extent to which it can be carried only relates to forms of Government, which may and which should engage the attention of well-informed men, but which cannot be either known or decided by the multitude. By what motives can they be excited when there is no question of an object which they can either comprehend or be interested in? It is well known what mobs have assembled at the door of the Clergy's Chamber for this week past. Murmurs have been incessantly echoed around the Ecclesiastical Deputies. Some have been insulted. Why are not these misguided people, who are open to every alarm, better instructed? Let them be told the truth—let them be thus addressed:

‘ Your safety, liberty, and property, are
‘ not here concerned. Those are our com-
‘ mon interests, on which you need not
‘ fear that any dispute will rise amongst us;
‘ and when those rights, which are also the
‘ rights of the members of the two first Or-
‘ ders, shall be secured by the concurrence of
‘ the three Orders, and of the King, of what
‘ importance to you are discussions and dis-
‘ tinctions, which cannot affect you? Go
‘ home to your families, and do not meet
‘ in

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‘ in public in this manner, to give your-
 ‘ selves up to groundless fears. What you
 ‘ have to fear is the exciting of commo-
 ‘ tions among you. Do not injure your
 ‘ hopes by disorder, but enjoy in peace the
 ‘ fruits of your useful labours, and respect
 ‘ the freedom of the votes of your Repre-
 ‘ sentatives.’ This is the language we
 should speak to the People: we must tran-
 quillise them by our harmony, and not ex-
 cite them to insurrection by our strife; and
 if we do not restrain their first movements,
 who amongst us can foresee where they will
 end? This is one of the first subjects we
 should take into consideration, if you wish
 to unite the Orders, and not to destroy them,
 if you wish to improve the Constitution by
 reforming abuses. We express to you the
 real inclinations of the Order of the Clergy.
 Whatever may happen, we shall not have to
 reproach ourselves with having abandoned
 the principles of the Constitution, or neglect-
 ed the means of reconciling them with the
 King’s intentions and the restoration of pub-
 lic tranquillity.”

The conduct of the Order of the Nobility on this occasion was not less worthy of
 praise. They returned to their own Hall

the day after the union of the three Orders ; continued to assemble there for seven or eight days longer, and formally declared, as appears by the minutes of their Sitting, “ That they had gone into the Hall of the *Tiers-Etat* only in consideration of the danger that threatened the life of the King ; but that, as that sudden and unforeseen union could only be temporary, they still regarded themselves as forming a separate Order, and should continue in consequence to assemble separately.” Their last Sittings were occupied in discussing measures for preserving the title of States-General, the distinction of the Orders, and the different Chambers for business, according to the ancient Constitution. It was determined that all individual claims on this point should be prohibited, but that those of the whole Order should be drawn up in the form of a Resolution, which the President should be charged to read in the Assembly calling themselves the National Assembly ; that in the mean time a Protest should be framed, to be made use of should those claims not be admitted ; and that this Protest, signed by all the members who formed the majority of the Nobility, should, if occasion required, be laid on
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the table. But before these two instruments could be prepared, the Hall in which the Order held their Sittings was shut up. They could now only assemble at the house of their President, who, to avoid exposing himself individually, received the members more as company visiting him, than as an assembled body. He urged the fear of displeasing the King, or of increasing the dangers of his situation, as objections against all the measures that were proposed. However, when the Resolution and the Protest were ready, the Deputies of the Order of the Nobility repaired to the Duke of *Luxembourg's* house, and declared to him, in the firmest manner, that they were absolutely determined to sign and complete them. The Duke, finding it would be in vain to oppose, endeavoured to evade it, and with that view adjourned the signing of the two papers till eight o'clock the next morning. The Deputies, most of whom were punctual to the hour appointed, were as much displeased as surprised to learn, on their arrival at the Duke's, that he had set out in the morning as soon as it was light, with all his family, for one of his estates a hundred leagues from Paris.

The Assembly of the Order being thus dissolved by the absence of its President and Vice-President, for *M. de Croui* was also in the country, it became impossible to make any claim in a body, and the progress of the Revolution left no hope to individual remonstrances. In this extremity, the only resource remaining was, to enter into Protests by Bailiwicks, and deposit them with the King; and this was adopted. But his Majesty refusing to be the depositary of any act by which the sincerity of his reliance on the Assembly could be rendered doubtful, they were committed to the Count *d'Artois*, who was pleased to receive them. They are proofs of the spirit of the Order of the Nobility, of their attachment to the ancient Constitution of the Kingdom, and of their resistance of the violent enterprises of the Order of the *Tiers-Etat*.

In order to explain and set a just value on the conduct of the two first Orders on many occasions, it is necessary to know, that the King, whom the Ministers were perpetually assuring that the only means of supporting the Government was popularity, thought he should render himself more popular by avoiding all communication, direct or indirect,

rect, with the members of the Clergy and Nobility. The consequence was, that they always went to the Assembly without being prepared or informed of what was going to pass, and that they were frequently silent during the most important debates, from the apprehension of opposing the King's views; and this was the reason of their not remonstrating against the title of *National Assembly*, although they foresaw all the consequences of it. The effect of a new word, in times of Revolution, is beyond all calculation. It was not through modesty, but policy, that *Cromwell*, who had need of unlimited power to maintain his usurpation, preferred the title of Protector to that of King. The limits of the Royal authority were known: that of Protector never having had any, he might extend them as he thought proper.

CHAPTER VI.

*Joy of the People — Illuminations —
Defection of the Troops—Some French
Guards confined in the Prison of
the Abbaye set at Liberty by the
People—Conduct of the Assembly—A
Letter from the King—Burlesque Sit-
ting of Patriots at the Palais-Royal—
Deputation from the Paris Electors—
Rapid Progress of the Spirit of Insur-
rection—Arrival of Troops in the Champ
de Mars, and in the neighbourhood of
Paris—Marshal Broglio Generalissimo—
His Regulations—Absurd alarm—The
Soldiers caressed by the People, and the
Officers insulted—Speech from Mirabeau
—Address to the King—Deputation—
His*

His Majesty's answer—Discontent and Manœuvres of the Factious—Mr. Necker's Imprudence—Duke of Orleans.

WHEN the news of the union of the three Orders was known at Versailles, the People, transported with joy, flocked to the Courts of the Palace, crying out for the King and Queen. Their Majesties showed themselves at one of the balconies of the Marble Court, and their condescension was repaid by the most lively and unanimous acclamations of “*Vive le Roi!*”—“*Vive la Reine!*” That unfortunate Princess melted into tears, nor could the King restrain his own.

When their Majesties left the balcony, the most unthinking part of the populace, incapable of retaining the mild and pure impressions which this affecting scene must have made upon them, hastened to forget them under the windows of Mr. Necker, to whom they offered the gross incense of their benedictions. To him was ascribed not only all that the King had said and done to accelerate the union of the Orders, but also the alarm that had been given to the Count *d'Artois* respecting the pretended danger

danger with which the King's life was threatened, and which had determined his Royal Highness to write the letter that he had sent to the Marquis *de Laqueuille*. Some parties went also to render the same homage to the Duke of *Orleans*, *M. Bailly*, and *M. de Montmorin*, the last of whom was considered as the best friend Mr. *Necker* had in the Council.

The whole night was spent in illuminations and rejoicings. In almost every street there were bonfires, and dances, in which the populace and town's-people were seen joining with the French and Swiss Guards, the Dragoons, and Hussars. The capital was also illuminated, to celebrate this Revolutionary Union, which altered the characters to be supported by the three Orders, or rather which sunk the two first in the third.

The defection which had already appeared in several regiments now spread very rapidly. It particularly broke out most scandalously and fatally among the French Guards. The *Gardes du Corps* themselves, so renowned for their bravery and fidelity, seemed for a moment infected with the mania of the new opinions; but this was soon

soon retrieved, and buried in oblivion by their subsequent heroism.

The People, impatient to assist in exercising the power their Representatives had now gained by the union of the three Orders, were not slow in signalising their sovereignty by the most criminal excesses; and *the good city of Paris* was the first to set the example. On the 30th of June, about half after six in the evening, a person passing the *Caffé de Foi* threw a letter among the crowd of patriots and loungers who were holding their Sitting at the coffee-house, and disappeared in an instant. The letter was opened and read: it was from eleven of the French Guards, whom their officers had sent to the prison of the *Abbaye St. Germain*, for having refused to join in dispersing the mobs that had collected at Versailles, particularly those which had beset the Archbishop of *Paris* at the house of the Mission. These rebellious soldiers, instead of rejoicing at not having been punished so severely as they deserved, had the impudence to pretend that they were victims to their patriotism, and said that the next night they were to be removed to *Bicêtre*, “a place,” they observed in the letter, “designed

“designed for vile rogues, and not for
“brave fellows like us.”

A young man who had heard the letter read went immediately into the garden of the *Palais-Royal*, mounted a chair, and thus addressed a great crowd that in an instant gathered about him: “Gentlemen, the brave soldiers who spared the blood of our fellow-citizens at Versailles are confined in the *Abbaye*; and if we do not fly to deliver them, they may in a few hours be deprived of their existence.”

This produced all the effect intended by the speaker. His hearers one and all cried out, “To the *Abbaye*! — to the *Abbaye*! We will bring them to you in less than an hour!” This band as they went along were re-enforced by all the young men and townsmen they met; so that when they got to the *Abbaye* their number amounted to about 4000 men, a great many of whom were armed with axes, crows, clubs, and large hammers, which they had taken from shops in their way.

The prison gates were soon forced, and all the prisoners set at liberty, and led in triumph to the *Palais-Royal*, about half after nine o'clock. Just as they were leaving
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the *Abbaye*, a company of Dragoons and another of Huffsars came upon them full gallop, with sabres drawn, as if they intended to disperse the crowd; but the people laying hold of their bridles, the soldiers at the same instant returned their sabres into their scabbards, and took off their helmets in token of peace; upon which wine was brought to them, and they drank to the health of the King and of the Nation.

The prisoners were received at the *Palais-Royal* with acclamations, and the most clamorous transports of joy. They were regaled with supper on a table laid in the garden, and camp-beds were carried to the Theatre of the *Variétés*, where they slept, guarded by a great number of citizens. The next day lodgings were taken for them at an hotel * adjoining the *Palais-Royal*, and their deliverers dispatched a Deputation of twenty persons to the National Assembly to place them under their protection. The first step taken by these Deputies on arriving at Versailles was to write to *M. Bailly*, to inform him, “ that they were sent by the *Public* to give him an account of the affair

* L'Hotel de Geneve.

of the prisoners of the *Abbaye*, and to confer upon it with the National Assembly, to whom they wished to present a petition. In a postscript they added—"Excuse, Sir, *the dishabille* in which we appear; but, forced to come away in haste, we had not time to think of so trifling a circumstance, and under our plain clothes we have all French hearts."

This Deputation, or rather *these* Envoys from Paris, for so were they called, were not admitted to the bar of the House; but their letter to M. Bailly was read to the Assembly, who spent the whole Sitting in discussing what was to be done on the occasion. At length, after many motions and much debating, the following Resolution was adopted:

"In reply to the persons come from Paris, the President shall say, that they are to return to that city with entreaties for peace and union, which alone can second the intentions of the National Assembly, and the labours to which they devote themselves for the public happiness."

"The National Assembly bewail the troubles with which the city of Paris is at this time agitated, and, by imploring the King's
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clemency towards the persons who may be guilty, they mean to set an example of the most profound respect for the Royal authority, on which depends the safety of the Empire. They therefore conjure the inhabitants of the capital to return immediately to order, and to impress on their minds the necessity of peace, which can alone ensure the infinite advantages that France is on the point of reaping from the voluntary union of all the Representatives of the Nation.

“ A Deputation shall be sent to the King to inform him of the part taken by the National Assembly, and to beseech him to employ, for the restoration of order, the infallible means of clemency and mildness, which are so natural to his heart, and of confidence, which his good subjects will ever deserve.”

In this Resolution we still recognise traces of respect for the King; but we also observe with what condescension, or, properly speaking, with what art, the Assembly rather *bewail* the troubles that agitate the capital than express *indignation* at them, and mention the authors of them not as *guilty*, but only as *persons who may be guilty*. It is true that those persons were the *Palais-Royal* Patriots,

Patriots, who had already dubbed themselves THE NATION, and who by that title had so much the more right to the attentions of the Assembly, as their support might become very useful to them on many occasions easily foreseen. It was this superior consideration, no doubt, that prevented them from perceiving how absurd it was to beseech the King to employ, for the restoration of order, *the infallible means of clemency*. It is manifest, in fact, that clemency, far from being *an infallible means* to suppress sedition, cannot be regarded or have existence as any thing like a means, till after the sedition is quelled; then the King may, according to his judgment, use clemency towards the disturbers of public order; but this means is the very reverse of being *infallible* in the prevention of new troubles.

Eight members of the *Tiers-Etat*, and four of each of the other two, composed the Deputation charged with presenting the Resolution to the King. The Archbishop of *Paris* was appointed their Speaker. His Majesty, affected by what *M. de Juigné** said to him, asked for the Resolution, and,

* *De Juigné* was the Archbishop's name.

having read it, made the following answer to the Deputation :

“ Your Resolution is very prudent. I approve what the Assembly of *the States-General* have done ; and while they continue to place confidence in me, I hope that all will go well. I will inform you of my determination.”

The next day, *July 2d*, the King sent a letter to the Archbishop of *Paris* in these terms : “ I have obtained an exact account, my Cousin, of all that passed in the evening of the 30th of June. The violence used to set the prisoners of the *Abbaye* free is infinitely blameable ; and all the Orders, all bodies of men, all peaceable citizens are interested in the highest degree to maintain the full energy of the laws, on which rests the protection of public tranquillity. I shall, however, in this instance, when order is restored, yield to the dictates of mercy ; and I hope I shall have no reason to reproach myself for my clemency, as it is for the first time besought by the Assembly of the Representatives of the Nation ; but I do not doubt that that Assembly will attach equal, nay superior importance to the success of all the measures which I am taking to restore

order in the capital. The spirit of licentiousness and disorder is destructive of all happiness; and if it gains ground, not only the peace of all the citizens would be molested, and their confidence shaken, but, in the end, perhaps, the generous labours to which the Representatives of the Nation are devoting themselves may be considered of no value. Communicate my letter to the States-General, and be assured yourself, my Cousin, of my esteem."

This letter and the King's answer, of which the Archbishop of *Paris* gave an account to the Assembly, were applauded by the greater part of the members, who expressed their acknowledgment by the cry of "*Vive le Roi!*" But the words *States-General*, used in his Majesty's letter, and in his verbal reply to the Deputation, provoked a certain number of Deputies, who, not satisfied in withholding their applause, maintained that the expression which had put them out of humour had never come from the King's lips; but the members of the Deputation declared, that the account given by the Archbishop of *Paris* was literally exact, and there could be no doubt of it, as the King had used the same expression in the

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letter

letter written with his own hand. At all events, the words *States-General* were suppressed in the minute of this sitting, and in most of the Journals. It is to be observed, that none of the members of the Assembly entered any protest against this piece of forgery.

While this weighty business engaged the attention of the States-General and of the Council, the eleven French Guards, who were compelled to be constantly at the windows of the hotel where they were lodged, in order to gratify the curiosity of the People, were receiving the bounty of the spectators in baskets suspended by ribbons; and at the same time the *Palais-Royal* Patriots, waiting news of their deputation, were holding a most tumultuous and burlesque sitting near the Circus, in which all the orators speaking at once made themselves hoarse with bawling out motions which nobody heard. “Will you follow us to Versailles, Gentlemen?” cried one of them with the voice of a Stentor. “Yes! yes! to Versailles!—to Versailles!” was the answer; and they were going to set off for Versailles, when another orator with iron-lungs roared out—“Ho! what are we go-

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ing to do there ?"—“ Going to do !” replied the former ; “ to ask the King not to let the military chest of the French Guards be any longer in the hands of scoundrels, but to order it to be left to the care of the Serjeants, and not of the Officers.” This proposition was received with such loud and continued bursts of laughter, that it was impossible to take it into consideration. The proposer being urged by persons about him to put an end to the laughing, called out—“ Gentlemen, I move that it be resolved by this august Assembly, that he who does not keep silence shall immediately be bastinadoed.” The auditors, fearing lest this motion should be executed even before it was debated, scampered all away, and put an end to the sitting.

However minute these details may appear, they are nevertheless necessary, to show what was, from the very beginning, the weakness and timidity of the Government in preserving the Royal authority, the audacity with which it was attacked, the means used by the factious, and the kind of men they employed as their principal agents.

The Assembly of the Electors of Paris,
who

who still continued their meetings, hearing that the King had made the return of the eleven French Guards to prison the condition of their pardon, resolved that a deputation of twenty-four of their members should be dispatched to Versailles, and not return without the pardon for the soldiers, who had surrendered themselves at the prison of the *Abbaye*: but his Majesty being informed of this resolution sent the pardon as soon as their surrender was known, and before this deputation arrived at Versailles.

This act of clemency, which the Assembly considered as an infallible means of restoring order, produced the contrary effect. The audacity of the factious and the ferment of the People from that moment increased rapidly, and in the most alarming manner. Bands of plunderers, such as are always seen assembling or suddenly appearing wherever disorder prevails, excited insurrections in all the principal towns, on the grounds of real or pretended scarcity. The crowds at the *Palais-Royal* became daily more numerous, and their motions more inflammatory. It has never been fully ascertained who defrayed the expences of all their

sedition commotions ; but certain it is they were paid for : this at least I can attest, that two persons of my acquaintance, going out of the *Palais-Royal*, whither they had been led to mix in the crowds from curiosity to hear the motions, found in their pockets two six-livres pieces wrapt up in paper, on which these words were written : “ Be one of us, and you shall never want money.” If such were the pay of mere listeners, how much higher must the more confidential agents, the proposers of motions and others, have been rewarded !

It was in these circumstances that the King, convinced that the only means of restoring tranquillity to the capital was the presence of a military force sufficient to awe the movers of sedition, ordered several regiments to march towards Paris. Three were encamped on the *Champ de Mars*, and the others stationed at La Muette, Passy, Sèvres, St. Denis, and other villages. Marshal *Broglie* was summoned to Versailles, and appointed Commander in chief of the forces assembled in the Isle of France.—He posted artillery in all the avenues to Versailles, and ordered constant patrols of sufficient force to protect the Palace from insult.

sult. The sight of the cannon, and the motion of the troops, still more provoked and alarmed the People, and also the greater number of the Deputies. Their apprehensions appeared by the letters with which they deluged the capital and provinces, and in which they charged the Ministry with the maddest designs against the Assembly ; such as of firing red-hot balls upon the Hall of the States, of blowing it up with barrels of gunpowder, and the like. The leaders at the *Palais-Royal* now talked only of repelling force by force, and of embodying and arming the citizens to oppose the military. At the same time every possible means was made use of to corrupt the soldiers ; those who came and mixed with the People were loaded with caresses, while the officers were always grossly insulted when they appeared at the *Palais-Royal*.

July 8. At this critical juncture, Count *Mirabeau*, who no doubt had his reasons for being more alarmed than any other, rose abruptly in the middle of a debate, and addressed the Assembly in the following speech :

“ Very powerful must be the motive that could prevail on me to interrupt the debate, but you will pardon my ardour, as the

danger I rise to give notice of, threatens at once the liberty of the Nation and of the States-General, and involves the safety of the Throne.

“ I have scarcely had time to collect my ideas, but your knowledge will supply my deficiencies.

“ Six days ago you entered into a Resolution to invoke the King’s clemency, and to beseech him to employ mild means in order to restore tranquillity to the capital.

“ The King declared, that he thought your Resolution full of wisdom. His answer contains this remarkable expression, ‘ *While you have confidence in me all will go well.*’ The King afterwards declared, in a letter to the Archbishop of *Paris*, that as soon as the prisoners had surrendered he would be guided only by his clemency.

“ Those expressions, full of comfort, raised confidence and restored tranquillity.

“ The letter concluded with announcing, that the King was going to take measures to prevent commotions.

“ From this we might have been tempted to consider what measures they might be. Doubt and anxiety would have been the first emotions, and those would have led us to beseech

beseech his Majesty to explain what those measures were.

“ I should myself have made a motion upon that subject, had I not, by reading over and over again those expressions full of goodness which had flowed from the King’s sensibility, been fully satisfied with them.

“ But what has been the sequel of this moderation by which we have been lulled to sleep?

“ In these moments of slumber, troops have been collected, trains of artillery brought up, regiments are on their march, five-and-thirty thousand men are already arrived, and twenty thousand more are expected.

“ The communications are all seized upon; the highways, passes, bridges, all intercepted—our very walks are no longer free: secret preparations, dark and gloomy designs, are all we hear of.

“ Was it not enough that the sanctuary of Liberty had been stained? Was it not enough, that the want of attention to the indispensable conveniences requisite for all ranks and all men had marked a degrading contempt for the majesty of the Nation? Was it not enough that the Deputies had
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been treated like strolling players, whose barn the grand master metamorphoses at his pleasure? But must the military train of despotism spread alarm through the whole nation—give them, if I may so say, the signal of civil war, and insult them in their Representatives?

“ And were *we* alone concerned, would it not be proper that we should be treated with a civility worthy the Nation we represent?

“ Is it forgotten that the King is respectable in proportion as the Nation is respected? Is it forgotten that he wishes to govern only free men? And is he to be condemned to the cruel condition of despots, woefully doomed never to know the sweet sensation of confidence?

“ Measures like these are not wanted to restore tranquillity—it is restored; but, admitting the commotions to be true, what need is there for a camp at Versailles, for a camp under the walls of the capital, for parks of artillery on the plains, the roads, the bridges, and in the gardens?

“ The People show signs of great disorder; the gates of a prison are forced, and prisoners delivered from their irons: but an
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act of clemency puts a stop to the general turbulence; the people disperse, order is restored, and the prisoners resume their irons. In a word, the King's goodness effected what the cannon of armies long experienced in the military art, and led by victorious Generals, could not have accomplished.

“ Never had the People more reason to be satisfied than at this moment. They have in view happiness, the regeneration of their laws, and the reform of abuses under which they have long groaned. Their wishes and their hopes centre in this Assembly. Nor did this pretended insurrection, which is to be quelled by numerous armies, begin before the military retinue of the Royal Sitting had every where spread apprehension and terror. It was not till the People had seen their Deputies in danger that they manifested their indignation.

“ But of what use are these arms and this artillery, that every moment threaten our heads? Is it supposed that the soldier will turn assassin at the nod of his leaders? Are the advisers of these disastrous measures sure of constantly maintaining military rigour? Can they degrade the French soldiers so low
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as to make them the mere passive ministers of their fury? Is it imagined that they will be simple machines? and that they will not perceive that they are cutting the throats of their brothers, their relations, and their friends?

“ Or is it to insult, to dishonour them, that hordes of barbarians, thirsting for French blood, and waiting but to shed it, are summoned from the recesses of the north? Is it to relieve the misery of the People that they are called to dispute with us a scanty remainder of food, scarcely enough to avert famine for a few hours from ourselves?

“ The consideration of these circumstances, of which I have given a very hasty sketch, calls upon me, in conscience, reason, and duty, to move—

“ That an Address be presented to the King, showing to his Majesty the great apprehensions that have arisen in the Assembly, from the liberty that has been lately taken, in his name, to collect about the capital and Versailles a train of artillery, and numerous corps of military, foreign as well as national, some of which are already cantoned in the neighbouring villages, and are about

to form several camps in the environs of the two towns.

“ ‘ That it be represented to the King, that these measures are not only opposite to the gracious intentions of his Majesty for relieving his subjects, on the unfortunate occasion of the dearth, but contrary also to the liberty and honour of the National Assembly, and calculated to destroy that confidence between the King and his People, which forms the glory and safety of the Monarchy, which alone can secure the peace of the Kingdom, and at length procure for the Nation the inestimable fruits which they expect from the labours and zeal of this Assembly.

“ ‘ That his Majesty be most respectfully entreated to remove the fears of his faithful subjects, by giving necessary orders for putting an immediate stop to those measures, equally useless, dangerous, and alarming, and for the speedy removal of the troops and train of artillery back to the places whence they were called.

“ ‘ And as it may be proper, in consequence of the disturbance and dread which these measures have created in the minds of the People, to provide for the maintenance
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of the peace, his Majesty shall be entreated to give orders that, in the two cities of Paris and Versailles, there be forthwith raised bourgeois guards, who under command of the King will be fully sufficient for the purpose, without augmenting about these towns, already oppressed with the calamities of scarcity, the number of consumers.'"

This motion made a very strong impression on the Assembly, and was adopted almost unanimously, except the article relative to the establishment of a bourgeois guard. A Committee was appointed to draw up without delay the Address to the King; and *Mirabeau* offering one which he had already prepared, it was adopted with some slight changes. This artful Address, to which the fatal error of the majority of the Assembly, and of the Nation itself, may be ascribed, was not the work of a few moments, whatever *Mirabeau* might say: we have but to read it to be convinced that it was very profoundly considered:

"SIRE,

"You have invited the National Assembly to repose its confidence in you; which
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was meeting its dearest wishes. We are come to state our alarm to your Majesty. Had we the weakness to fear for ourselves, your goodness would deign even in that case to remove our fears; and while you blamed us for doubting your intentions, you would attend to our uneasiness, you would dissipate its cause, you would leave no uncertainty in the situation of the National Assembly.

“ But, Sire, we do not implore your protection, as that would be to offend your justice.

“ We have conceived fears; and we dare to assert, that they arise from the purest patriotism, from the interest of our constituents, from anxiety for public tranquillity and the happiness of a beloved Monarch, who, in clearing our path to felicity, well deserves to walk in it himself without impediment.

“ The real welfare of the French, Sire, lies in the emotions of your heart.

“ When troops are advancing on all sides, when camps are forming about us, and the capital is invested, we ask each other, with astonishment, if the King mistrusts the fidelity of his People? Could he have doubted it, would he not have made his paternal apprehensions

prehenfions known to us? What means this menacing array? Where are the enemies, of the State and of the King, who are to be subdued? Where are the rebels, the leaguers, that are to be reduced? From the capital and from the whole kingdom one unanimous voice replies: *We love our King, and blefs Heaven for his affection.*

“Sire, your Majesty’s zeal could never have been abused but under colour of the public good.

“If they who have given these counfels to our King had had confidence enough in their principles to have laid them before us, it would have produced a glorious triumph for truth.

“The State has nothing to dread but from bad principles, which dare to befet the Throne itself without refpecting the confcience of the pureft and moft virtuous of Princes. And by what means, Sire, are they able to make you doubt the attachment and love of your fubjects? Have you been lavish of their blood? Are you cruel and implacable? Have you perverted juftice? Do the People impute their misfortunes to you? Do they name you in their calamities? Have you been told that the Nation is impatient

patient of your yoke, and tired of the sceptre of the Bourbons? No, this has not been told you: Calumny is not absurd; it always endeavours to colour its wickedness with some show of probability.

“Your Majesty has recently seen the power you have over your people: subordination is re-established in the agitated Capital; the prisoners released by the multitude have of themselves returned to their prisons; and public order, which, if force had been employed, might have cost a torrent of blood, is restored by a single word from your lips. But that word was a word of peace; it was the effusion of your heart, which your subjects glory in never resisting. How exalted is the exercise of such an empire! it was the empire of Louis IX. of Louis XII. of Henry IV.—it is the only empire worthy of you.

“We should deceive you, Sire, if, yielding to circumstances, we were not to add, that this empire is the only one that it is now possible to exercise in this country: France will not suffer the best of kings to be imposed upon, and diverted by sinister views from the noble plan which he himself has traced out. You have called us to settle the

Constitution in concert with you, to effect the regeneration of the kingdom; the National Assembly come to assure you solemnly that your wishes shall be accomplished, that your promises shall not be vain, that snares, difficulties, terrors, shall not retard their progress, shall not intimidate their courage.

“ Will our enemies affect to ask, ‘ Where can be the danger of the troops? what mean their complaints, if their courage is not to be shaken?’

“ The danger, Sire, is urgent, is general, is beyond all calculation of human foresight.

“ The danger is in the people of the provinces: once alarmed for our liberty, we know of no curb that can restrain them. Distance alone magnifies, exaggerates, doubles suspicion, exasperates, envenoms.

“ The danger is in the capital: How will the people, reduced to indigence and suffering the cruelest pangs, bear to see their scanty remainder of provision disputed by a crowd of frowning soldiers? The sight of the troops will exasperate, excite and produce a general fermentation; and the first act of violence, exercised under the pretence of police,

police, may set fire to a horrible train of misfortunes.

“ The danger is in the troops : French Soldiers, brought near to the centre of discussions, and participating the passions as well as the interests of the People, may forget that a compact has made them soldiers, while they remember that Nature made them men.

“ The danger, Sire, threatens the labours which are our first duty, and which will not be attended with complete success and real permanence, but as the People shall consider them as free. Besides, there is a contagion in passionate emotions—we are but men : distrust of ourselves, and the dread of appearing weak, may hurry us beyond the goal. We too shall be assailed with violent and indiscreet counsels : cool reason and tranquil wisdom do not deliver their oracles amidst tumult, disorder, and factious scenes.

“ The danger, Sire, is more dreadful still : judge of its extent by the alarm which brings us before you. Great Revolutions have sprung from much slighter causes : more than one enterprise fatal to nations have appeared in a manner less untoward and less formidable.

“ Believe not those who speak lightly to you of the Nation, and who represent it to you only according to their views; sometimes insolent, rebellious, seditious; and sometimes submissive, docile to the yoke, and ready to bow its head to receive it: both these representations are equally untrue.

“ The Nation is ever ready to obey you, Sire, because you command in the name of the Laws, and its allegiance is as unbounded as it is unsuspected.

“ The Nation is ready to resist all the arbitrary commands of those who abuse your name, because they are enemies to the laws: this resistance is enjoined by our allegiance itself; and it will always be an honour to merit reproaches incurred by our firmness.

“ Sire, we conjure you in the name of the Country, in the name of your happiness and of your glory, to send away your soldiers to the posts from which your advisers have brought them; to send away this artillery, which is designed to protect your frontiers; above all, to send away the foreign troops, those allies of the Nation, whom we pay to defend, not to disturb, our dwellings. Your Majesty has no need of them. Why should our King,
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adored by twenty-five millions of Frenchmen, surround his Throne, at a great expence, with a few thousands of foreigners? Sire, in the midst of your children be guarded by their love. The Deputies of the Nation are called to consecrate with you the eminent rights of Royalty upon the immoveable basis of the liberty of the People: but while they are fulfilling their duty, while they are yielding to their reason and their conscience, would you expose them to the suspicion of having yielded only to fear? The authority you receive from our affection is the only pure and immutable one: it is the just return for your goodness, and the immortal right of Princes who follow your example.”

This Address excited the most lively and general enthusiasm in the Assembly. It was read twice, and received as much applause on the second reading as on the first. A Deputation of twenty-four Members was immediately nominated to present it to the King. They were not admitted till the evening of the next day, when his Majesty made the following reply:

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“ No

“ No one is unacquainted with the disorders and scandalous scenes which have been acted repeatedly at Paris and Versailles, under my eyes and under those of the States-General. It is necessary that I should make use of the means which are in my power to restore and maintain order in the Capital and in its neighbourhood: to guard the public peace is one of my principal duties. These are the motives which have induced me to assemble troops near Paris. You may assure the States-General, that they are only designed to suppress, or rather to prevent, commotions; to maintain good order and the administration of the laws; and to secure and protect the liberty which ought to reign in your debates, and from which not only all constraint should be removed, but all apprehension of tumult and of violence. None but the ill-disposed could lead my people to misinterpret the real motives of the measures of precaution I am taking. I have constantly endeavoured to do all that can tend to their happiness, and I have ever had cause to be assured of their love and allegiance.

“ If however the necessary presence of the troops in the environs of Paris occasion still
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any umbrage, I shall have no objection, on the Assembly's requesting it, to remove the States-General to Noyon or Soissons; and in that case I would go to Compiègne, in order to keep up the communication between us."

This was not the answer wished by the Popular Faction; but all the wise and reasonable members of the Assembly were satisfied with it, and the rest were obliged to submit, as the alternative was a removal, which would have disconcerted all their plans. Besides, they flattered themselves that they should soon find the means of constraining the King to yield on this article as they had done on all the rest.

The first manœuvre by which they attempted to accomplish their design was, to spread fresh alarms respecting the scarcity of provisions, and the pretended rapidity of its progress, which their trusty Journalists, and the incendiaries of the *Palais-Royal*, ascribed to the enormous consumption made by the troops cantoned in the neighbourhood of Paris. Mr. *Necker* contributed in no small degree to countenance this opinion, by the Memorial (an imprudent one, to say the least

of it) which he sent on the 10th of July to the Committee of Subsistence ; and in which he announced, that the whole Court and the King himself were to be reduced to eating rye-bread. He concluded his Memorial with this desponding phrase : “ When men have done every thing in their power, it only remains for them to submit with patience to the laws of Necessity, and to the decrees of Providence.”

The *Orleans* Faction did not let slip this occasion to increase the affection of the populace for that Prince. On the same day, the 10th of July, a pretended Motion of the Duke of *Orleans* for the relief of the People was cried through all the streets of the Capital. In this paper it was said, that he had offered the Committee of Subsistence a sum of 300,000 livres, to prevent the price of bread from rising, and to stop the progress of the dearth. The most enthusiastic praises were lavished upon him, as if he had been the guardian angel of France. To his modesty, and not to his incapacity, was ascribed his refusal of being President, to which office the Assembly had appointed him some days before. His adherents, not satisfied with forgetting the vices that had hitherto stained the
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the whole course of his life, even dared to talk of his virtues. The virtues of the Duke of *Orleans*!—Alas! he was but too perfect in all those which Revolutionary Patriotism has consecrated, and especially that of familiarising himself to the greatest crimes.

CHAPTER VII.

Dismission of Mr. Necker—Barriers at Paris burnt—Seditious Commotions at the Palais-Royal—Camille Desmoulins—Apotheosis of the Duke of Orleans and of Mr. Necker—Public Places shut up—The Gunsmiths' Shops forced open and pillaged—The French Guards fire on a Detachment of the Regiment of Royal Allemand—The Prince de Lambesc enters the Thuilleries at the Head of his Detachment—His Retreat—View of the Situation of Paris and Versailles—Robberies—The Convent of St. Lazarus burnt—The Garde-meuble of the Crown pillaged—The Prisoners of the Hotel de la Force set at Liberty by the People—Insurrection among those of the Chatelet—General Disorder—The Electors of Paris make themselves

*themselves Masters of all the Authority—
Bourgeois Militia provisionally embodied
—Inactivity of the Ministers—Conduct of
the Assembly—Firmness of the King—
Motion by M. de la Fayette—Permanent
Sitting of the Assembly, and of the
Patriots of the Palais-Royal.*

MR. Necker's conduct was perhaps more imprudent than treacherous; but there was too much vanity in his morality, too much fastidiousness in his politics, and too much ambition in his popularity, to allow the re-establishment of the Royal authority to be his work; and it is even very doubtful, whether it was his object. It is certain, that all the parties labouring to subvert the Monarchy, or at least to change the nature of it, depended upon the support or on the indulgence of that Minister, and that the staunch Royalists had no reliance upon him. These motives at length determined the King to remove him; and on Saturday morning, the 11th of July, *M. de Montmorin* carried him a letter from his Majesty, in which he dismissed him, and ordered him to leave the kingdom. Mr. Necker kept his disgrace a profound secret, even from his wife, and received

ceived company that day at dinner as usual. Those who dined with him did not perceive the least alteration in his countenance. After dinner his wife and daughter invited him to take a ride to the Val, a country-house, situated in the forest of *St. Germain*, belonging to Madame *de Beauvau*, an intimate friend of Mrs. *Necker's*. He consented, and went into the carriage with his wife; but instead of going to the Val, he took the road to Brussels in order to be the sooner out of the kingdom.

At eleven o'clock, the same night, the Banditti who were in the neighbourhood of Paris went in crowds to the parts of the town about *La Nouvelle France* and *La Petite Pologne*, and concluded their incursions by burning the barrier in the *Chaussée d'Antin*. Mr. *Necker's* departure, however, was not yet known at Paris, which proves that his disgrace was by no means the cause nor the pretext for this insurrection, which was evidently projected before; and the burning of the *Palais-Bourbon* was to have been the signal of a general rebellion, had not Mr. *Necker's* dismissal happened at the moment fixed for its breaking out. A Deputy who was a Member of the Breton Club (one *Coroller*) confessed

essed that such was the plan of the rebels ; and his confession is confirmed by the deposition of several witnesses, taken on the trial at the Chatelet for the offences committed on the 5th and 6th of October*.

The report of Mr. *Necker's* departure did not take wind in Paris till the 12th, at nine o'clock in the morning ; and then it was spoken of with caution and mystery, as one of those outrageous attempts of which it is not always prudent to appear too much in the secret. The news was not confirmed till between eleven and twelve, by persons coming from Versailles to the *Palais-Royal*, where the concourse of Patriots was such, that it was hardly possible to take half a dozen steps in the garden without being stopped by a group. In the middle of this immense crowd, *Camille Desmoulins*, one of the most inflammatory Demoniacs of the Revolution, mounting upon a table, cried out with a thundering voice : “ Citizens, there is not a moment to be lost : Mr. *Necker* is dismissed ; this dismissal is the alarm-bell for another *St. Bartholomew* of Patriots :

* See the Depositions of Messrs. *Guilhermi*, *Dufraisse*, *Duchey*, and *Tailhardat de la Maisonneuve*.

to-night all the Swiss and German battalions will come from the *Champ de Mars*, and cut our throats.—We have but one resource left; that is, to fly to arms, and wear a cockade by which we may know one another.” Several motions were made respecting the colour of this cockade, and green was adopted, as being that of Hope. “Friends,” resumed then the speaker, “the signal is given: I already see the satellites and spies of the police staring me in the face, but I will not fall into their hands alive.” As he said this, he drew two pistols from his pocket, and, showing them to the crowd, cried: “Let every Citizen follow my example.” Fury was at its height, but those who were agitated by it did not yet know upon whom, or how, to vent it. The ruffians who the evening before had burnt the barriers of the *Chaussée d’Antin* went off to the *Barriere Blanche* to set that on fire; but a detachment of fifty men from the regiment of *Royal-Allemand* came up in time to prevent them. It was also necessary to send assistance to the other barriers, which were almost all threatened at the same time, and several were burnt.

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In the afternoon, the fermentation was farther increased at the *Palais Royal* by the news of the dismissal of the three ministers who were supposed to be the most devoted to Mr. *Necker*, namely, *M. de Montmorin*, *M. de la Luzerne*, and *M. de St. Priest*, and debates were begun upon the outrages, more or less violent, that ought to signalise the vengeance of the people, when a large mob suddenly rushing into an adjoining hall, where some wax figures were exhibited, bore off the busts of the Duke of *Orleans* and Mr. *Necker*, placed them upon the same frame, and crossing the garden went into the street *Richelieu*, towards the *Boulevards*, crying out as they went along, “Off hats! *Vive Necker! Vive le Duc d’Orleans!*” compelling every body they met in their way to bow to the busts.

This procession, amounting to three or four thousand ragged banditti, armed with pistols, old guns, rusty cutlasses, loaded cudgels, spits, axes, pitchforks, and pikes, walked quickly along and without any order. On each side of the frame was a kind of black flag bordered with white. From time to time parties of them left this crowd to run to the different places of amusement, and threaten

threaten to set them on fire if they were not shut up. These ruffians in their way broke into the gunsmiths' shops, and carried off the arms.

A detachment of *Royal-Allemand*, sent to disperse this mob, received a volley from the French Guards as they were passing their quarters on the *Chaussée d'Antin*, stopped to return it, and continued their march without quickening their pace. There were some soldiers killed and wounded on both sides, but fewer on the side of the regiment of *Royal-Allemand* than on that of the French Guards.

The detachment marched to the *Place Louis XV.* and there found a body of dragoons who had been dispersing the procession. The two busts were broken to pieces; and the populace in their fright taking refuge in the garden of the *Thuilleries*, the Prince de *Lambesc* pursued them thither, at the head of the detachment of *Royal-Allemand*, according to the orders he received from *M. de Buzenval*. This small troop coming up to the head of the *Pont-tournant*, (or turning bridge) at the extremity of the garden, found a kind of barricade, hastily formed by chairs heaped upon one another: while they were removing

removing this obstacle, they received a shower of stones, broken chairs, and bottles, from the two terraces, between which the Prince *de Lambesc* drew up his troop, keeping constantly at their head. Some guns and pistols were discharged at them, which did no hurt; but several of the troopers were much bruised by the things that had been thrown at them, and an officer was severely wounded by a stone.

The Prince *de Lambesc*, keeping at six paces from the bridge, according to the order of *M. de Buzenval*, opposed only a steady front to the aggressions of the populace. Seeing that this post became untenable, and that it was impossible for him any longer to restrain his troopers from repelling force by force, he gave the order for retreating out of the garden. At the same instant a cry was heard from all sides of, *turn the bridge, turn the bridge*; and some persons, in consequence, ran and began to do it. The Prince *de Lambesc*, justly fearing that a most bloody carnage would be the inevitable consequence of it, ordered some pistols to be fired in the air towards the bridge, to awe those who were striving to turn it. As the report of this volley did not deter them,

he rode up himself, and with his sabre struck one of those who were working hardest. The man ran off; and the Prince passing the bridge with his detachment into the *Place Louis XV.* drew up near the Statue, and, being soon joined by the Swiss regiment of Chateaueux, took his post with this force near the *Garde-meuble*, where he remained some time, having placed the infantry before him. At ten at night *M. de Buzenval* dismissed a part of the troops to their quarters, and sent the rest to Versailles.

These facts being all judicially confirmed by the trial that was instituted against *M. de Buzenval*, prove how much the Prince *de Lambesc's* conduct was calumniated by all the Journalists who mentioned it, and what little confidence is due to writers of that class in times of Revolution, even when their accounts agree.

It would be difficult to paint the disorder, fermentation, and alarm, that prevailed in the capital during this dreadful day. A city taken by storm, and delivered up to the soldiers' fury, could not present a more dreadful picture. Imagine detachments of cavalry and dragoons making their way through different
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ferent parts of the town, at full gallop, to the posts assigned them; trains of artillery rolling over the pavement with a monstrous noise; bands of ill-armed ruffians and women drunk with brandy running through the streets like furies, breaking the shops open, and spreading terror every where by their howlings, mingled with frequent reports from guns or pistols fired in the air; all the barriers on fire; thousands of smugglers taking advantage of the tumult to hurry their goods in; the alarm-bell ringing in almost all the churches; a great part of the citizens shutting themselves up at home, loading their guns, and burying their money, papers, and valuable effects, in cellars and gardens; and, during the night, the town paraded by numerous patrols of citizens of every class, and even of both sexes, for many women were seen with muskets or pikes upon their shoulders. Such is the exact picture of the state of Paris on the 12th of July. At Versailles the new Ministry were busily debating, sometimes in the Council, sometimes in Committees, without knowing what resolution to take. The General Officers were constantly going for orders, were made to wait

long, and received none at last. The apprehension that the ruffians might come to Versailles, made them at length adopt the measure of cutting off all communication with Paris. Cannon and detachments of troops were posted upon the bridges of Seves and St. Cloud, and in all the avenues. No one was allowed to go beyond those bounds, so that before the close of the day all communication between the Court and the Capital was completely suspended.

The King could not have dismissed Mr. *Necker* at a more critical juncture than that in which the People, alarmed with famine, fixed all their hopes on the attentions of that Minister, and on the credit and resources they attributed to him; the very day too of his dismissal increased the danger*. An event which on a holiday or on a Sunday would produce an insurrection is scarcely attended to on any other day, because the class of people that live by daily labour, and those who are in their shops, do not quit their work to assemble riotously, and create

* The 12th of July, the day on which the news of Mr. *Necker's* dismissal was known at Paris, happened to be Sunday.

insurrections; but wherever leisure or their affairs draw them together in great numbers in the squares, walks, or any public place, the mob is already formed, and a violent motion, with a few glasses of brandy, is enough to make them riotous. Persons employed in the police of great towns can corroborate the truth of this observation, and my own experience has taught me how much it merits the attention of the Government, particularly in times of trouble and fermentation.

The choice of the juncture and of the day for dismissing Mr. *Necker* was not the only imprudence attending the advice given to the King. It was a much more serious error, to propose that so hazardous a step should be taken before his Majesty had had time to resolve and prepare the measures and precautions that might ensure the success of such a determination, or at least prevent its fatal consequences. It is yet doubted whether Mr. *Necker's* successor had any other plan, any other object, than that of becoming Prime Minister. It was certainly not easy to conceive, and still less to execute, a plan by which the King's safety and the preservation of the Monarchy itself might

be secured ; but such being the task imposed upon the successor of Mr. *Necker*, it was the duty of every man of honour, of every good servant of the King, to decline it if he had the least doubt of performing it. The *Baron de Breteuil*, more convinced than any one else of being possessed of the talents requisite for the juncture, did not hesitate to become Prime Minister ; and the consequences of his presumption have been very disastrous.

The Revolution, though in its cradle at that time, assumed one of its distinguishing characters. The Parisians, in arming the populace and ruffians in order to oppose them to the troops of the line, were anxious to anticipate a danger with which they were not threatened, and thought nothing of that arising from putting the public force into the hands of those who should always be awed by it. The consequence was, that next day, July 13th, at three in the morning, an immense crowd, armed with clubs, bludgeons, and pikes, under pretence of the dearth of provisions, attacked the convent of St. *Lazarus*, crying out — “ Bread ! ” “ bread ! ” The monks immediately caused all the provisions of every kind they could procure to be distributed. After satisfying
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their hunger, but more particularly their thirst, the ruffians demanded arms for the defence of the *Tiers-Etat*; and pretending to believe that there were some concealed in the house, they broke open every door, pillaged the church, the library, the corn-lofts and cellars, set two prisoners at liberty that had been sent to St. *Lazarus* for correction, and likewise all the mad people that were confined there. When they had completely plundered the house they set fire to it; and if 400 of the French Guards, who were fortunately passing through that quarter at the time of the fire, had not protected the fire-men at their work and driven the rioters away, all that part of the town would have been reduced to ashes.

Under the same pretence of searching for concealed arms, the doors of several of the convents were broken open; but the pillage was more moderate, and the houses were not set on fire. While these enterprises against private property were executed at once by several gangs of rioters, the populace having forced the doors of the *Garde-meuble* carried off all the rich and curious arms that were there deposited, though the greater part of them could be of no use.

The other valuable effects preserved there would not have escaped the pillage, but for the opposition of a miserable creature, almost naked, who had gone in with the crowd, and who cried out, with a voice strong enough to awe the plunderers : “ No pillaging, comrades ; we are not thieves : “ all this belongs to the Nation.” These words, repeated by the populace, saved the *Garde-meuble*.

At the same time another gang of rioters besieged the prison *de la Force*. The officer who commanded the detachment employed to guard it, having represented to *M. de Buzenval* that he was not in a state to resist the multitude, received a note in answer, intimating “ that the best thing to be done “ was to withdraw his men prudently, and in “ such a manner as that they should neither “ be assaulted nor abused.” The officer did not hesitate to follow the advice given him in this note, the original of which remained in the hands of the Warden : he concealed his dress under a common great coat, and went off by a private door. The doors of the prison not being defended were soon broken down, and all the prisoners confined for debt were immediately released ; those who

who were detained for offences against the police, and the women of a loose life, were not set at liberty till the afternoon.

The criminals confined in the prison of the *Chatelet*, hearing of what had passed at the *Hotel de la Force*, were every moment in expectation of their fetters being taken off. Growing impatient at neither seeing nor hearing of any succour intended for them, they attempted to procure their own liberty, dug up the pavement of the court, and appeared at the doors, armed with stones, broken benches, and whatever they could lay their hands upon; some of them even had pistols and hangers, which had been brought to them. The keeper, alarmed at their outrageous cries and menaces, went to his window, and called the rioters who were passing the street, to his assistance; and it is remarkable, that those very people, most of whom had joined in releasing the prisoners of the *Hotel de la Force*, took equal pains in bringing the prisoners of the *Chatelet* to order. They caused the outer-door to be opened, fired on the prisoners, killed and wounded a great number of them, and then went into the court and disarmed the rest.

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It was rendering the capital an essential service, to restrain in fetters many hundreds of assassins and highway robbers, whose irruption would have been marked by innumerable crimes. But this service was not disinterested in those who rendered it; they had no need of auxiliaries in their plunder, and it was important to them not to associate in it experienced rogues, who would have appropriated the better part of the booty.

The gangs of plunderers that were running through the streets were every instant increasing and gaining strength. Their vociferations and menaces terrified and put to flight all the peaceable citizens. The disorder and uproar had risen to such a pitch of violence, that the alarm-bell, which had never ceased ringing, was scarcely heard; and while all these enormities were committing, *M. de Buzenval*, who had at his disposal a force more than sufficient to suppress them, and who was particularly charged to maintain the order and tranquillity of the capital, kept all the troops under his command completely inactive.

The Parisians, convinced that they had to defend themselves at the same time from the
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Rabble and from the Government, awoke from the state of stupor into which they had fallen, and attempted to undertake their security themselves, but did not at first know how to set about it. They shut the shops, but the rioters broke them open; they wore the green cockade, and the rioters wore it too. The Electors dexterously seized this critical moment to make themselves masters of all the authorities. They assembled at the *Hotel de Ville*, under the title of *Provisional Magistrates*; and Proclamations published by their order in every street invited all the citizens to repair to their respective districts. These ran in crowds to the church where the Assemblies were held for the elections of members to the States-General. An active and continual correspondence was immediately established between the Districts and the Electoral Assembly; the latter of which, without losing a moment, appointed a standing Committee to attend night and day to the re-establishment of order, and to employ themselves in speedily forming a Parisian Bourgeois Militia, the number of which was provisionally settled at 48,000 men. They also erected different offices, to which they referred all objects of public utility,

utility, and particularly the measures to be taken for supplying Paris with provisions. Each of the Districts likewise established a standing Committee. *M. de Fleffelles*, the *Prevôt des Marchands*, was President of that of the Electors. *M. de Crofne*, the Lieutenant of Police, was summoned by them to give instructions relative to the supplies for Paris : he attended, gave all the information required of him, and then resigned his office. This Committee then employed themselves with the greatest activity in the embodying and training of the Parisian Militia, and immediately published the Resolution they had taken to this effect, which in an instant changed the situation of the capital.

The preamble of this Resolution had all the conciseness of the best established Sovereignty, and ran thus : “ The notoriety
“ of the disorders and excesses committed
“ by several mobs having determined the
“ General Assembly to re-establish the Pa-
“ risian Militia, it is ordered as follows.”

This Resolution divided the rounds of the sixty Districts of Paris into sixteen quarters, raised sixteen legions bearing each the name of one of the sixteen quarters respectively,

tively, and composed in the following manner, twelve of four battalions, and four of three; in all sixty battalions, consisting of four companies each, containing two hundred men, exclusive of six officers. The General Staff was composed of a Commander in Chief, a Deputy Commander, a Major-General, and an Adjutant-General; the Field Officers of each particular legion consisted of a Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, a Major, four Adjutants, and a Deputy Adjutant. The Committee reserved to themselves the right of appointing the General Staff Officers and the Field Officers of each legion, and left to the Districts the choice and appointment of Officers to their respective battalions.

At the same time this Resolution established sixteen principal guard-houses for the sixteen legions, and a particular guard-house in each District. It ordained also, that the cockade to be worn by the Militia should be of the colours adopted by the General Assembly, that is to say—blue, white, and red. This immediately became the cockade of the citizens of all classes and both sexes, and was substituted in the place of the green one that had been taken in the morning.

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This new Militia was in want of arms and ammunition. Fowling-pieces, cutlasses, and pistols, were borrowed from the gunsmiths and cutlers whose shops had escaped the pillage. The arms of the Watch were taken, and also those of the French Guards, who after using them the evening before against the King's troops went and offered them to the rebels. A boat loaded with powder was seized at *St. Nicholas's* bridge; and several barrels, some of which were filled with arms and ammunition, were taken at the King's stables. In the Faux-bourgs, and in some streets, the People made trenches and barricadoes of casks, and fortified them with ditches, as if they expected a siege.

The promptness with which the Parisians organized at once this Provisional Magistracy, the Bourgeois Militia, and the sixty District Assemblies, has been made too much a wonder. To Mr. *Necker's* imprudence belongs the honour of this melancholy miracle, without which the City of Paris would have been under the necessity of submitting to the King's authority, and of imploring his protection against the plunderers. It was the innovating genius of that Minister
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which engendered that Electoral Assembly, and that division of the capital into sixty districts or rounds, for the appointment of their respective Electors, without reflecting that, in so immense a city as Paris, where the populace is too numerous not to be turbulent, it is always very dangerous to establish, or point out to the People, a settled place of assembling in each quarter; it is removing the greatest obstacle to a general insurrection. It was thus that this modern patch-work of an Electoral Assembly, and Assemblies of Districts devised for the appointment of Deputies to the States-General, became the corner-stone of the Revolution.

While the Electors of the Districts were completing the destruction of all the springs of the Government, and constructing a monstrous power out of the wrecks of the Royal authority, the new Ministers, imputing the outrages committed on the 12th to a handful of plunderers, who would be easily dispersed, had no uneasiness about them, or showed none, and were entirely engaged with the petty details of taking possession of their respective houses and offices. The Court, full of confidence in the Baron *de Breteuil*,

Breteuil participated their security. The Assembly, thunderstruck at the dismissal of Mr. *Necker*, spent their time in mournful complainings upon this pretended public calamity. The most moderate speakers proposed to present an Address to the King to solicit his recall: others, considering Mr. *Necker* and the three ministers who shared his disgrace as the victims of despotism, were for voting them solemn testimonies of esteem, regret, and gratitude. Count *Mirabeau*, who was equally certain of making whichever of these opinions he thought proper to support, preponderate, and of injuring his popularity if he opposed them, kept a profound silence. He had not forgiven Mr. *Necker*, whom he no longer called any thing but a quack, for the affront of disdaining his services, and he had entered into an engagement at the *Breton* Club to neglect nothing that might turn him out. His apparent indifference at so critical a juncture astonished all who were ignorant of the motives, when their attention was suddenly called to a different object by the reading of an Address from the Electors of Paris, tending to obtain permission to establish a Bourgeois Guard.

The debate on the Address from the Electors was interrupted and curtailed by the arrival of a packet from Paris, received by *M. de Lally*. The Assembly, alarmed at the situation of the capital, the account of which, far from being exaggerated in this dispatch, was deficient and inaccurate in almost all the circumstances, concluded their debates with the following Resolution, in which not a word is said of the dismissed Ministers :

“ The National Assembly unanimously
 “ resolve, that a Deputation shall be sent to
 “ the King, to represent to him the dan-
 “ gers which menace the Capital and the
 “ Kingdom, the necessity of withdrawing
 “ the troops, whose presence exasperates and
 “ drives the People to despair, and of trust-
 “ ing the defence of the city to the bour-
 “ geois militia. They resolve also, that if
 “ they obtain the King’s promise to with-
 “ draw the troops, and establish the bour-
 “ geois militia, they will send Deputies to
 “ Paris to carry the consoling news, and to
 “ assist in restoring tranquillity.”

The members of the Assembly who were to compose this Deputation were named by the President, to the number of forty, and repaired immediately to the Palace. The

King, informed of what had been passing in the Assembly, admitted the Deputation as soon as they were announced. The Archbishop of *Vienne*, who was the speaker, beginning with these words—"The National Assembly," his Majesty interrupted him, and said—"Say the *States-General*." The prelate again beginning his speech, dared, in spite of the order he had just received, to repeat the same words he had used; and unfortunately the King was weak enough to suffer it. What could this Deputation have replied, if his Majesty had had the firmness to say to them, "The Assembly I convoked is an Assembly of the *States-General*; it is to that Assembly that the Nation has deputed you; it is by that title alone you are admitted to my presence; I will not suffer you to take another; if you are not Deputies of the *States-General*, I neither ought nor will receive you—withdraw."

It is true, that, to speak in this manner without increasing the embarrassments of his situation, the King should have previously adopted with the firmest resolution a general plan of conduct, in which the dissolution of the Assembly should have been determined,

terminated, and the energetic measures to accompany and follow that determination should have been invariably settled. It was the part of the Ministers, and chiefly of the Baron *de Breteuil*, or of the Keeper of the Seals, to present this plan; and if, after the investigation of it in the Council, all the Ministers had insisted with vigour and unanimity upon the necessity of adopting it, there can be no doubt but that they would have prevailed with the King. But no such plan was ever proposed to his Majesty, and the new Ministry went on day after day in the manner of their predecessors.

The Archbishop of *Vienne* spoke with great energy upon the alarming state of the capital, of the danger there was that the whole kingdom would be soon agitated with the same troubles; proposed the removal of the troops, and the establishment of the bourgeois militia, as the only means of restoring order and tranquillity in Paris; and concluded by observing, that the changes that had taken place in the Ministry were the cause to which the present misfortunes were to be attributed.

The King, after reading the Resolution

which was put into his hands, made the following answer to the Deputation :

“ I have already informed you of my intentions in regard to the measures which the disorders of Paris have forced me to take. I alone am to judge of their necessity, and I cannot in this respect make any alteration. Some towns have a guard for themselves, but the extent of the capital does not allow of a guard of this kind. I make no doubt of the pureness of the motives which lead you to offer your services on this affecting occasion ; but your presence in Paris would do no good, and it is necessary here for the acceleration of your important labours, the continuance of which I recommend to you.”

The unexpected firmness of this reply revived some hopes in the minds of the Royalists, and for a moment spread consternation and doubt in those of the seditious ; but the audacity of the latter was much recruited by a proposal from *M. de la Fayette* to declare the new Ministers responsible for the present events, and for those that might be
the

the consequence of them. This insolent motion produced several others more or less seditious, which intoxicated the majority, and intimidated the minority to such a degree, that the following Resolution was passed without opposition :

“ The Assembly, interpreter of the Na-
 “ tion’s will, declare, that Mr. *Necker*, and
 “ the other Ministers who have been lately
 “ removed, carry with them their esteem
 “ and their regret ; that, terrified at the
 “ fatal consequences which may attend the
 “ King’s answer, they will never cease from
 “ insisting upon the removal of the troops
 “ assembled in an unusual manner near
 “ Paris and Versailles, and upon the establish-
 “ ment of the bourgeois guards.

“ They declare again, that there can be
 “ no intervenient agent between the King
 “ and the National Assembly.

“ They declare, that the Ministers and
 “ civil and military Officers in power are
 “ responsible for every attempt against the
 “ rights of the Nation, and against the De-
 “ crees of this Assembly ;

“ That the present Ministers and Coun-
 “ fellors of his Majesty, of whatever rank
 “ and state they may be, or whatever offices

“ they may hold, are personally responsible
“ for the present misfortunes, and for all
“ those that may follow ;

“ That as the public debt has been put
“ under the security of the French honour
“ and fidelity, and as the Nation does not
“ refuse to pay the interest of it, no power
“ has a right to pronounce the infamous
“ word *Bankruptcy* ; no power has a right
“ to hurt the public credit, under what
“ form or denomination soever.

“ Lastly, the National Assembly declare,
“ that they persist in their preceding Reso-
“ lutions, and especially in those of the
“ 17th, 20th, and 23d of June last.

“ The present Resolution shall be sent by
“ the President of the Assembly to the King,
“ and shall be printed and published.”

It was also resolved, that a copy of this Resolution should be transmitted to the four Ministers who had been dismissed, and that the Assembly should continue sitting the whole night through. The advanced age of the Archbishop of *Vienne* not permitting him to continue so long without interruption the laborious duties of the President's office, the Assembly adjourned to one of their Committee Chambers to appoint a Vice-President,

and *M. de la Fayette* was chosen by a great majority of votes. The *Palais-Royal* Patriots also constituted themselves permanent in the garden and adjacent coffee-houses.

If at this critical moment the Assembly, consulting only the dangers of the State and the Monarchy, had wished to save one and the other, they had but one part to take, that of rallying freely and entirely on the side of the King, and of employing all the means in their power to give or to restore to the Government the full authority which it stood in need of to suppress so extensive an insurrection. But whether it was that the firmness of the King's reply raised an apprehension in the Assembly, that it was the intention of the new Ministers to dissolve or remove them to some other place, or that they were led by the hope of acquiring greater popularity, and of augmenting their own power with all that they stripped from the King, they had the effrontery, or rather the treacherous baseness, to rally on the side of the rebels, by renewing their first acts of treason*, and by adding to this crime, that of countenancing, in the same

* The Resolutions of the 17th, 20th, and 23d of June.

Resolution, insinuations the most fitted to throw contempt upon his Majesty's authority, and render his intentions odious. History, therefore, in ranking this Resolution among the most criminal acts of treason will give it the only title that it deserves.

CHAPTER VIII.

False Alarms—Violent Murmurs against the Delay of the Electoral Assembly in procuring Arms — The Hotel-des-Invalides attacked and plundered—The Bastille assaulted and taken—Death of M. de Launay—Several Invalids massacred, others hanged at a Lamp-post, and the rest saved by the French Guards—Prisoners found in the Bastille—Assassination of M. de Fleffelles—His Head and M. de Launay's carried to the Palais-Royal on Pikes by the Populace—Terror of one of the French Guards who was borne in Triumph in the Train—Reflections upon Lettres de Cachet, and upon State-Prisons — The Affair of the Cardinal de Rohan and of Madame de la Mothe.

DURING the night between the 13th and 14th the plunder was suspended at
Paris,

Paris, and the town would have been very tranquil, if the alarm had not been kept up by gangs of worthless people running from street to street, bawling sometimes to set out lights, at others to extinguish them; which obliged the inhabitants to be constantly going to their windows to manage their candles according to the orders of those vagabonds. The retreat of the troops that were encamped in the *Champs Elysées* also excited great uneasiness. It was supposed that Marshal *Broglie* had withdrawn them to form a junction with other regiments, in order to attack the capital with a greater force at a moment when it was least expected.

The districts, as their battalions were formed, sent deputation upon deputation to the *Hotel-de-Ville* to ask for arms, and only obtained some bad pikes, with which they were obliged to be contented till they could get better. Those who were in the greatest hurry bought for little or nothing guns, pistols, and cutlasses, from the plunderers, who had taken them in the houses and shops which they had pillaged. I have seen a very handsome double-barrelled gun which on that day was sold for ten shillings: half-

half-a-crown was the price of a common one; and a pistol or cutlafs cost no more than fix-pence.

In this manner the hired banditti, who had taken the lead in all the insurrections of the two preceding days, disarmed with their own will, and having executed their commission at Paris, left it to spread themselves over the neighbouring towns, and through the provinces, where they propagated, with the greatest rapidity, the spirit of insurrection and rebellion.

Notwithstanding the retreat of the brigands, Paris continued in a state of extreme fermentation. Loud murmurs were raised against the dilatoriness of the Electoral Assembly in procuring arms. They were accused of negligence, of incapacity, and even of treachery, in spite of the evident impossibility of procuring 48,000 stand of arms in one day. It was much easier to find a Commander in Chief for this new bourgeois militia; and the Electors had already appointed to that rank an officer retired from service, whose recommendation arose far less from his talents than from his patriotic boasting; his name was *La Salle D'Offemond*. "But what use," cried the People,

ple, “ have we for a Commander in Chief, if we have no arms ? ” It was known that there was a great quantity at the Invalids. A few days before all that were at the Arsenal had been sent thither, and the *Palais-Royal* haranguers never ceased persuading their auditors to go and seize them. This soon becoming the general wish, and the chief cry of the immense crowd with which the *Place de Greve* was filled, *Ethys de Corny*, the King’s Solicitor of the former Municipality, issued from the *Hotel-de-Ville*, and, putting himself at the head of the People, led them to the *Hotel-des-Invalides*. He presented himself first at the iron-gate, and, finding it locked, desired to speak with the Governor. *M. de Sombreuil* came out to him, attended by the Staff Officers ; and perceiving a great number of the citizens among the multitude who accompanied *Ethys de Corny*, he ordered the gate to be opened to him, and allowed him to bring in a few others. The gate was shut as soon as they entered ; and the King’s Solicitor informed *M. de Sombreuil* that the object of his coming was to demand a general search through the Hotel, and to distribute among the citizens all the arms they could find. *M. de Sombreuil*

breuil immediately replied, that he was bound by the King's orders, and the duties of his office, to refuse these demands.

During this interview, the People, impatient, never ceased crying out, "*Make haste, we want arms.*" These clamours made *Ethys de Corny* more urgent in his demand, and *M. de Sombreuil* more timid in his refusal. The latter becoming more and more doubtful what part he ought to take, determined to retire and confer with the chief officers. This act of extreme weakness being mistaken by the multitude for an act of vigour, they said and believed that *M. de Sombreuil* had only retired to order out the troops, and advance the artillery. In an instant the assailants sprang into the ditch in crowds, crossed it, climbed the iron-rails, and leaped into the court, howling dreadfully all the time. The little judgment *M. de Sombreuil* had left forsook him upon this irruption, which he did not expect. He had orders to repel force by force, if the brigands approached the Invalids. "But," said he, "the citizens are
 " not the brigands, and my instructions say
 " nothing in regard to the citizens. I have
 " not time to send or wait for fresh orders,
 " and

“ and I am not permitted to interpret what
“ I do not find in those that have been
“ given me.” This reasoning, or rather
this doting of age and timidity, determined
him to allow the citizens and their retinue
to enter, without considering that citizens
who play the part of ruffians, and who
place themselves at their head, ought to be
distinguished from them only to be the
more severely punished. However, he re-
turned into the court, and ordered the gates
to be opened to the People. In a moment
all the halls of the Hotel, the cellars, the
garrets, the rooms, and the gardens, were
given up to the search of seven or eight
thousand furies. In less than five minutes
the cannon were all carried off with incredi-
ble rapidity. The Invalids themselves were
eager to point out all the repositories. The
most considerable was in the vault under the
dome; thither the crowd poured down with
as much confusion as eagerness. Those who
went first attempting to return with the mus-
kets they had seized, were thrown down by
those whom they met running in search of
arms; while some, to save themselves the
trouble of going down, fought with those
who were coming up for the guns they had
taken.

taken. In this tumult the candles with which the vault had been lighted went out, and darkness increased the confusion: not a gun remained, but next day several wounded persons and some dead bodies were found in the place. The arms of every kind lodged at the Hotel and Guard-house were carried off, together with the drums and colours; they did not even leave the sentry a sword to mount guard. The pillage, however, was confined to arms; the furniture and other effects were not touched.

This expedition, which was completed in less than half an hour, enabled the Parisians to arm a great part of their militia; all the important posts were provided with guard-houses and with cannon; a considerable body well-armed was drawn up in order of battle opposite the regiments encamped in the *Champ-de-Mars*, and seemed to defy them. From this time no carriage was allowed to go out of Paris, and all that were met by the patrols, who were marching through the streets in great numbers, were sent to the *Hotel-de-Ville*. Several horsemen were also stopped, and among others two couriers from the Court, who were taken before the Electors, assembled in a
per-

permanent Committee. The dispatches found on the couriers were seized, opened, and publicly read. One of these dispatches was addressed to the Marquis *de Launay*, Governor of the Bastile, and contained orders to hold out to the last extremity.

It was the more important for the rebels to be acquainted with this order, and to prevent its being delivered, as their plan was to follow up the attack of the *Hotel-de-Ville* by that of the Bastile. Besides the certainty of finding arms in that State-Prison, they esteemed the reduction of it as the most decisive revolutionary act. None indeed could be better fitted to excite madness in the People, who were so stupid as to be persuaded that their liberty was the grand object of all the excesses of which they were rendered the instrument, and accordingly the attack of the Bastile was determined upon. This famous achievement, so ridiculously celebrated by the Parisian populace, stamped the Revolution with that character of atrocity which it has retained, and in this light deserves to be known in all its details.

On the 14th of July, by day-break, seven hot-headed young men, excited by the orators

tors who had spent the night at the *Palais-Royal*, ran to the Bastille, and desired to speak with the Governor, under pretence of informing themselves whether he had any arms at his disposal, and would trust the inhabitants of Paris with them, to enable them to defend themselves against the brigands. The guard having answered them firmly, that his orders were to admit nobody, they went away. Some minutes after, a more numerous deputation, also composed of young men, was turned back in the same manner. A considerable mob then appeared, and attempted to enter the court by force. This the guard opposed, and informed them, by the Governor's order, that those who did not retire should be fired upon. This declaration being thrice repeated in vain, *M. de Launay* ordered some muskets to be fired from the Castle, which, without hurting any body, produced the desired effect of dispersing the mob. But at the noise of the discharge, new groups were formed and came up from all quarters; some saying they were sent by the *Hotel-de-Ville*, and others by the Districts. *M. de Launay* gave orders for the admission of one *Belon*, an officer, who headed the party that

pretended to be sent by the *Hotel-de-Ville*, and *Thuriot de la Roziere*, an attorney, who was at the head of a deputation from a district. He received them very politely, declaring that he had no hostile intention, and should only defend himself if he were attacked. He was also imprudent enough to tell them, that the cannon on the platforms were not loaded, and had been removed from the embrasures, and even allowed them to go and see that it was so:—a permission they did not hesitate to make use of. His condescension went still farther, and he made the officers and soldiers on guard at the Castle swear before them, not to make use of their arms unless they should be attacked. The Deputies went away completely satisfied with the pacific disposition of the Governor, and assured him that they would go and disperse the crowds. But these were so greatly augmented during the negotiation, that *Belon* and *Thuriot*, on coming out of the Bastille, found themselves in the midst of people who, not knowing them, took them for impostors or traitors; who were more disposed to hang them than to listen to them, and it was with great difficulty they escaped with their lives. While they were

struggling with the crowd, two persons who had got upon the top of a perfumer's house, made their way to the wall adjoining the guard-house, situated close to the draw-bridge, leading to the Government court: upon this wall they sat themselves astride, and in that manner drawing themselves across to the guard-house, leaped into the court. There they found nobody, for the Governor had ordered all the garrison into the Castle. The example of the two men was very soon followed by some of their comrades; and the first thing they did, was to lower the little draw-bridge, fixed beside the great one, and intended for people on foot. As soon as this was done, several persons armed with hatchets joined them, and set about hammering down the great draw-bridge, which cut off the principal entrance to the Castle. They soon broke or unloosed the chain of it, and in falling it crushed one man to death, and wounded another. In an instant the crowd pressed into the court, made their way into the Governor's house, and ran with fury through all the apartments, breaking and ruining whatever could not be pillaged.

M. de Launay might have easily destroyed all these banditti, if he had been willing to

fire upon them with canister-shot: he might also have prevented their breaking in, by beating down the wall next the guard-house with a few cannon-balls, or even by shooting those who were climbing along it: but he only wished to frighten them; and thinking that a discharge of musketry would be enough to disperse the crowd that filled his house and the Government court, he ordered it to be made; but the fire could only be directed upon the people in the court, and in the moats. This discharge wounded some, and put a great number to flight. The boldest betook themselves behind the walls and under the gates, while the fugitives ran about reporting every where, that the garrison was keeping up a rolling fire of musketry and artillery on the people. If what they said had been true—if the first discharge had been immediately followed by two or three others, and accompanied with some fire from the cannon, this pretended siege of the Bastille would only have been famous in history for the cowardice of the assailants.

The exaggerated reports which were carried to the *Hotel-de-Ville* of what was passing in the *Faubourg St. Antoine*, determined the Electors to send a deputation to

M. de

M. de Launay, and at that very moment fresh crowds were drawing the cannon that had been taken in the morning from the Invalides to the Bastille. Those cannon were soon planted at different points, and played upon the Castle; while from the windows and tops of the neighbouring houses the Invalids who from time to time appeared upon the platform were shot. In this manner was the garrison of the Bastille, consisting of a hundred and fourteen men, of which number eighty-two were Invalids, and thirty-two Swiss belonging to the regiment of *Salis-Damade*, attacked by near thirty thousand men and women, among whom was a great number of the French Guards.

When nothing more was left in the Governor's house to be pillaged or burnt, the house itself was set on fire, and that and the guard-house were in flames when the deputation sent by the Electors arrived, with a white flag before them, at the first gate of the Castle. The people crowding round the Deputies prevented them from advancing, under pretence of the dangers to which they would be exposed. *M. de Launay*, on seeing the white flag, had flattered himself that

they were coming to propose some means of conciliation to him; but this hope being soon destroyed by the flag becoming stationary, he ordered some muskets to be fired upon the incendiaries, who were at first frightened; but who finding that no person was killed, recovered themselves, and returned to their work with more violence than ever: they brought up two pieces of artillery, and planted them at the opening of the avenue to the court of the Castle. *M. de Launay*, on observing these dispositions, ordered another volley of musketry, and a cannon loaded with canister-shot to be discharged from the top of one of the towers into the street *St. Antoine*. The assailants were little disconcerted by this; they were much more ruffled by the many accidents produced by their unskilfulness and inexperience in handling fire-arms, and particularly the cannon.

The Deputies of the Electoral Assembly having returned to the *Hotel-de-Ville* without having been able to execute their commission, the Permanent Committee sent a second deputation, at the head of which was the Abbé *Fauchet*; but these were still more easily dissuaded by the people from proceeding: for the Abbé *Fauchet* having less
courage

courage than effrontery, very readily believed that there was great danger in going forward; on which he returned to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, where he gave the most dreadful account of the *scenes of horror* he had witnessed. A third deputation was sent to the Bastille, with as little success as the former. The instructions of the two last were drawn up in the following manner:

“ The Permanent Committee of the Parisian Militia, taking into consideration
“ that there ought to be no military force in
“ Paris but that of the Town, charge the
“ Deputies whom they send to the Marquis
“ *de Launay*, Commander of the Bastille,
“ to ask him if he is disposed to receive
“ into that fortress the Parisian Militia,
“ to defend it in concert with the troops
“ already there, and to be under command
“ of the Town. Done at the *Hotel-de-*
“ *Ville*, July 14th, 1789. Signed *De*
“ *Fleffelles*, Prevôt and President of the
“ Committee: *De la Vigne*, President of the
“ Electors, &c. &c.”

M. de Launay, not receiving, and not being able to receive any orders from the Court, was driven to the alternative of making a horrible carnage among the assailants,

by defending himself vigorously to the last extremity, or of exposing his garrison and himself to be massacred by surrendering. His duty and safety prescribed the former, his melancholy fate impelled him to the latter. He made the drums beat a parley, and fixed a napkin to the end of a bayonet upon one of the towers to show that he desired to capitulate. This signal of submission and peace, far from pacifying the assailants, excited in them a joy of a furious and sanguinary nature, which they manifested by repeated volleys of musketry and artillery. *M. de Launay*, judging by this ferocity what kind of people they were into whose hands he was about to fall, on being asked by the garrison, what proposal they should make, answered, “Stipulate, Not to be massacred.” Upon this reply, one of the officers wrote the following words, with a pencil, on a piece of paper, and passed it through the small opening of the draw-bridge: “We have twenty thousand weight
“ of powder; and if you do not accept our
“ capitulation, we will blow up the garri-
“ son, and all the quarters about it.” Showing this to the assailants, he cried as loud as he could, “We are willing to surrender,
“ provided

“ provided we are assured that the troops
 “ shall not be massacred.”

From the wideness of the ditch, the paper was at too great a distance to be read ; but the People managed to reach it by means of a long plank, pushed towards the draw-bridge. The first man who attempted to get upon the plank fell into the moat. A person of the name of *Maillard*, whom we have since seen playing a principal part in all the commotions of the capital, had the dexterity to advance near enough to the bridge to reach the paper, which he gave to one of his comrades, who, fixing it to the point of his sword, raised it sufficiently high to be read by the assailants. As soon as the contents were known, they cried out one and all—“ On the faith of French soldiers,
 “ we accept it, and will do you no harm ;
 “ let down the bridge.”

M. de Launay confiding in this promise, ordered at first the draw-bridge of the little gate to be let down. From fifteen to twenty persons immediately rushed in, and the rest of the crowd would have followed, had not some of the French Guards prevented it, by placing themselves at the outer end of the bridge. The sentry who opened the little
 gate,

gate, asked the first who came up, what they wanted. "The Bastille to be surrendered," they replied; and at the same instant the great-draw-bridge was lowered. Before it was quite down, a grenadier of the French Guards sprang upon it, and was followed by the populace.

The garrison appeared without their arms, and making a lane; the Invalids to the right, and the Swiss in their undress to the left, received this immense crowd, with their hats off, clapping their hands, and shouting "*Bravo!*" repeatedly, as if it had been truly a great act of bravery to enter through an open and undefended gate; for in that precisely consisted the famous conquest of the Bastille. They who had constituted themselves the leaders of that body of heroes desiring to speak with the Governor, he was pointed out to them by a soldier. They went up to him, and, after grossly insulting him, informed him that they were going to conduct him to the *Hotel-de-Ville*. One of them led the way, carrying the capitulation on the point of his sword; he was followed by *Maillard*, who had taken possession of the colours. After them came *M. de Launay*, in a grey coat, and

and without his hat, between two men, who held him by the arms, and who had promised him that they would protect him*. They did in fact all they could to shield him from the rage of the furies that formed their retinue, and who contending for the honour of being the first to strike their prisoner, or rather their victim, were emulously thrusting the points of their swords into his face, arms, legs, and every part of his body that they could reach. One of his conductors, named *Hulin*, through an emotion of generosity, very remarkable in the midst of so much barbarity, took off his own hat and put it on the Governor's head, in the hope of his being less known, and that this stratagem, deceiving the fury of the assassins, would suspend the effects of it; but the blows were then made at himself, and he would have fallen under them, if *M. de Launay* had not given him back his hat. On entering the *Place-de-Greve* the Governor was torn from his conductors, who were too much exhausted with fatigue

* Their names were *Hulin* and *Arné*: the latter was the Grenadier of the French Guards who was the first to leap upon the draw-bridge before it was quite let down.

to be able any longer to resist the crowd that surrounded them. He was massacred in an instant, and his head being severed from his body, was fixed on the end of a pike. It was then five o'clock in the afternoon.

Thus did the conquerors of the Bastille perform, with respect to *M. de Launay*, the promise unanimously given on the faith of French soldiers, to do no harm to the garrison. Most of the Invalids remaining in the courts of the Castle were put to death in the most merciless manner. Two of those wretches were dragged to the *Place-de-Greve*, and soon hanged to the iron that supported the lamp opposite to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, under the bust of *Louis XIV.* They were the first who underwent this kind of popular execution, which has been since called *lanterner to lantern*, or to *put to the lantern*. The Swiss of *Salis-Damade*, from their undress, and the appearance of joy with which they cried *Bravo*, were taken for the State-prisoners testifying their gratitude to their deliverers. It was to this mistake, of which they had no suspicion, that they were indebted for their lives and for all the caresses heaped upon them. Had they suspected the motive, they might have retired immediately without the least

least danger; but not being at all aware of it, they took the resolution of putting themselves into the hands of several of the French Guards, who had already taken under their protection some Invalids, fortunate enough to have escaped from their assassins.

It was with great difficulty that the French Guards who had taken charge of these prisoners, saved them from the fury of the People, and carried them as far as the *Hotel-de-Ville*. They led them into the Hall where the Electors were holding their sitting. One of those pretended Magistrates, a worthy representative of the cannibals, who from the *Place-de-Greve* were roaring out for fresh victims, was brutal enough to say to these wretched prisoners, the moment he saw them appear, “ You have fired upon
 “ your fellow-citizens; you deserve to be
 “ hanged, and hanged you shall be imme-
 “ diately.”—“ Ay, ay,” echoed a thousand voices, “ hang them all; away with all of
 “ them to the lantern!” This sentence of death, however, was not executed, being prevented by the interposition of the French Guards, one of whom addressing the Electors said, “ These soldiers are our prison-
 “ ers; we request they may not be taken out
 “ of

“ of our hands. If our services have been
“ useful to you, now is the time we wish
“ to receive the reward of them, by having
“ our prisoners pardoned.” The acclama-
tion of *Pardon! pardon!* repeated by all
the French Guards who had escorted them,
was also vociferated by that very crowd who
the moment before were making the Hall
resound with the most sanguinary cries. The
History of the French Revolution will fur-
nish many other examples of the extreme
rapidity with which the populace pass from
the excess of barbarity to mild and humane
feelings; they are ever tigers or lambs, ac-
cording to the impulse given them, and
never one or the other by halves; *to do
every thing for them and nothing by them,*
is the counsel that wisdom gives to every
Government; *to do every thing by them and
nothing for them,* is the secret of every
Revolution.

While the French Guards at the *Hotel-
de-Ville* were saving the remainder of the
garrison of the Bastille, the Populace, who
were still before the Castle, continued firing
upon it, both with cannon and muskets, as
if all the doors of it had not been opened.
In one of the Halls a very bloody conflict
took

took place between those who had gone in at first, and those who came in afterwards, and who, taking the former for a party of the garrison, kept up a brisk fire upon them, which was returned by the others, who also thought themselves attacked by the garrison. This rashness, and the stupid obstinacy of those firing on the outside, did much more execution than had been done by the fire of the garrison, which was so moderate and ill-directed, that the most democratic journalists have not stated the total loss of the assailants on that day, at more than fifty men, and most of those were killed by their comrades.

In the towers of the Bastille there were but seven prisoners, whose names were *Pujade, Béchade, La Roche, La Caurege*, the Count *de Solages, Tavernier*, and *Whyt*: the four first were accused of forging Bills of Exchange, some accepted by *Tourton* and *Ravel*, and others by *Gallet de Santerre*; the Count *de Solages* was confined at the request of his family, on charges of the most serious nature; and the two last were both so deranged, that the Electors sent them the next day to Charenton, to be confined among the mad people. *Tavernier*
was

was the natural son of the late *Paris Duverney*, the brother of *Paris de Montmartel*.

Here then was the immense number of victims that were said and believed to be crowded by hundreds in the dungeons of despotism. Those pretended dungeons were chambers as agreeable as the chambers of a prison can be, and the envenomed reports published by some who have been prisoners in the Bastile, after their enlargement, and particularly by Count *Mirabeau* and *Linguet*, prove that they were better fed there than they could have been at home. There were State prisons in several provinces of the Kingdom, and especially in Britany. The number of these, and the expeditious and arbitrary form of imprisonment by *Lettres de Cachet*, having been the chief ground of the opinion generally adopted among foreign nations respecting the pretended despotism of the French Government, it is incumbent upon me to say here, that while I was Intendant of Britany, I received an express order from the King to visit all the State-prisons in that province, to receive from every prisoner a statement respecting himself, and to transmit an account
of

of it to the Minister, the Baron *de Breteuil*. This order was accompanied with the amplest instructions respecting the motives of justice and humanity by which it had been dictated, and the manner in which his Majesty wished his paternal intentions to be executed. The circular letter which contained those instructions was addressed to all the Intendants : I obeyed it, as was my duty, with the utmost strictness, and I attest upon my honour, that there was not in Britany a single State-prisoner whose confinement was not an act of justice, and in many instances an act of benevolence or mercy.

I shall now return to the sequel of the events of the 14th. *M. de Fleffelles*, who had not quitted the *Hotel-de-Ville*, where he was President of the Assembly of Electors, and signed all their Resolutions, became suddenly suspected from the consternation he manifested, and with which the sight of so many horrors might well strike him. He was vaguely accused of treachery, without any one being able to produce against him a single fact that deserved the reproach. The Electors themselves were the chief accom-

plices in the project of murder that was forming against their President. One of them said to him, "There are some very sad reports in circulation about you: I advise you to justify yourself." *M. de Fleffelles*, totally absorbed by the shock he had received from the massacre of *M. de Launay*, made no reply to this address, which he perhaps did not hear. *Garan de Coulon*, another Elector, interpreting his silence into guilt, called to him furiously—" *M. de Fleffelles*, you have betrayed the Country, and the Country abandons you." Irritated by this attack, *M. de Fleffelles* rising hastily said, "I see very well, Gentlemen, that I am not pleasing to you; I shall retire." On leaving the Hall he found himself in the midst of a troop of furies, who pressed round him, overwhelming him with questions and threats. "I cannot, Gentlemen, answer you all at once," said he; "come some of you to my house, and I will acquaint you with my conduct, the motives of it, and give you every explanation you can desire." But he had scarcely passed the arcade of *St. John's Church*, when one of those villains, clapping

ping a pistol to the nape of his neck, said as he fired it, "Traitor, you shall go no farther." He fell dead on the spot.

The Electors hoped to extenuate the horror of this assassination, by causing it to be considered as a natural and almost lawful vengeance, for a treachery, the proof of which they pretended to have. In fact, they declared, that when *M. de Launay* was arrested, a letter had been found in his pocket from *M. de Fleffelles*, containing this expression: "I am amusing the Parisians with
" cockades and promises; hold out till
" night, and you will receive a reinforce-
" ment." But this supposed letter, which, had it existed, they would not have failed to preserve very carefully, was never seen by any body; and I heard *M. Bailly* himself say, in a visit he paid me when he left the Mayoralty, that he had no knowledge of it, and that it was not in his power to refer to any one who had told him that he had read it.

The heads of *de Launay* and *de Fleffelles*, with those of some of the other victims of this dreadful day, were placed on pikes, and paraded through the streets and at the *Palais-Royal*, followed by an immense crowd.

crowd. In the retinue were some persons carried on litters, and among others a French Guard, crowned with laurel, and ornamented with a *croix de St. Louis*, but whose wild looks proclaimed a man less flattered than frightened at all the honours conferred upon him. This foldier, whose name was *Dubois*, led more by the thirst of wine than the thirst of glory, had taken his post, from the commencement of the attack upon the Bastille, at a public-house, whence he issued, half-drunk, an hour after the populace were in possession of the Castle. The particulars which he had heard related of the great victory just gained by the People, excited his curiosity to see the field of battle. He went forward to the moats, and stopped mechanically before one of the towers, the height of which he was stupidly exploring, when suddenly the workmen in the Fauxbourg, deceived by his regimentals, ran up to him, supposing him to be one of the heroes who had most distinguished themselves in the *famous siege*. One puts a crown of laurel on his head, another decorates his button-hole with a *croix de St. Louis*, which he had taken from an Officer of the garrison whom he had assassinated, and all join in forcing

forcing him away with them to the *Place-de-Greve*, in spite of his refusal and resistance, which they took for modesty. The next day he told a tradesman, who had entertained him at the conclusion of the day, that he had suffered the most bitter anguish till he escaped from the hands of those furies ; for he thought that they had put him upon the litter only to secure his person, and that the procession in which he was figuring in so remarkable a manner would end by his being hanged, and his head added to those that were carried before him. When he recovered from his fright and from his drunkenness, he was honest enough to carry the *croix de St. Louis*, with which they had decorated him, to the *Hotel-de-Ville*.

On another litter was an old man, with a bald head, and a long white beard falling to the middle of his chest. This was the unfortunate mad person named *Whyt*, one of the seven prisoners found in the Bastille. The registers of that State prison having been all either burnt or stolen, it is almost impossible to know whether this old man was mad when he was put into the Bastille, or whether the distemper was owing to too long a

confinement ; but this uncertainty has not prevented the factious and the slanderers of the Government from adopting and crediting the latter opinion, as the more probable. We ought not to confound with these people the rational and moderate men, who think, that under a Despotic King, or in the hands of a violent, insensible, or wicked Ministry, the *Lettres de Cachet* were, or might soon be made, the instrument of the most odious tyranny. This incontestable truth was doubtless a very powerful reason, not for annulling entirely the use of *Lettres de Cachet*, but for limiting it, by subjecting it to rules the most proper to preclude the danger of it ; for there would be no means of authority left to a Government, if all those were proscribed which despotism may abuse. No one is more convinced than myself that the authority of Kings, that their very beneficence, ought never to be arbitrary ; but I am no less convinced of another truth, which *Louis XVI.* has inserted in his immortal Testament, and that is, “ That a
“ King cannot enforce the laws, and do the
“ good which his heart prompts, unless he
“ be possessed of necessary authority ; and
“ that

“ that otherwise, being fettered in his operations, and inspiring no respect, he is more hurtful than useful.”

I have said too much of the Bastille, not to awaken the recollection of a celebrated imprisonment, which, though it took place about three years prior to the Revolution, is no less connected with the History of it than with that of *Louis XVI.* The attention which that exertion of power excited throughout Europe, has given too much interest to the circumstances that are known of it, to suffer those that are unknown to be considered as indifferent, or as misplaced in these Memoirs. But not to interrupt the narrative of more serious as well as more recent events, I shall throw them into a note, as I should have given them in evidence before the Parliament of Paris, had I been called upon as a witness in the unfortunate affair of the Cardinal *de Rohan*, and *Madame de La Motte**.

* See the Notes, No. ii.

CHAPTER IX.

Want of Foresight in the Ministers—Conduct of the Assembly—The King consents to the Removal of the Troops—Deputation from the Electors of Paris to the Assembly—False Account given by them—New Deputation from the Assembly to the King—His Majesty's Answer—Resolution adopted by the Assembly—Plan and Measures of the Factious—Committee of Montrouge—Cowardice of the Duke of Orleans—Confusion—Alarms at Night—Ridiculous Fears of the Parisians—The King goes to the Assembly and grants whatever they demand—His Majesty's Speech—The President's Reply—Great Joy—The Assembly attend the King

King back to the Palace, and send a numerous Deputation to Paris, for the Purpose of restoring Tranquillity.

THE communication between Versailles and the capital being almost entirely stopped by the continual arrests of the couriers and passengers, it was very late at night on the 14th of July, before the Assembly were informed of a part of the outrages committed at Paris. They only learned from one of their members, (the Viscount *de Noailles*) who had been there, that the *Hotel-des-Invalides* had been pillaged, that the cannon and every gun found there had been carried off by the People; that the citizens were armed, and that there was a plan for attacking the Bastille.

This news interrupted a debate, the object of which was to send a second Deputation to the King, to demand the removal of the troops. The motion had been made by Count *Mirabeau*, and the Factious had taken previous measures to secure its success, by publishing, by means of their emissaries, that the plan of the Ministers was to invest the Hall with cannon on the following night; to increase the pay of the soldiers,
in

in order to insure their allegiance ; to block and bombard Paris, and so forth. *Mirabeau* also moved, that the Assembly should resolve, that they would attend to no other object until the troops collected in the capital and the neighbourhood, were entirely withdrawn. This motion was not adopted, but the former passed unanimously ; and it was resolved, that the same Deputation who had gone to the King the day before, should now return to his Majesty, and demand the removal of the troops.

The King was not better informed than the Assembly, of the situation of the capital ; the irruption made into the *Hotel-des-Invalides* was the only event he had heard of ; and his Majesty was deliberating with his Ministers upon the measures to be taken, for preventing farther excesses, when the Deputation from the Assembly arrived at the Palace.

The want of a plan, the want of foresight, and the irresolution of the Ministers, placed the King in so critical a position, that he could not, without personal danger to himself and the Royal Family, either listen to, or reject the demand which the Assembly had the imprudence or dastardly treachery
to

to make. This reflection, and the King's natural repugnance to violent steps, determined him to consent to the removal of the troops. The Deputation was admitted, and the King gave them the following Answer:

“ I have been incessantly engaged on
 “ every measure likely to restore tranquillity to Paris. I had, in consequence, given
 “ orders for the *Prevôt-des-Marchands* and
 “ Municipal Officers to repair hither, that
 “ I might concert with them the necessary
 “ steps to be taken. Being since informed
 “ of the formation of a bourgeois guard, I
 “ have ordered the General Officers to put
 “ themselves at the head of that guard, to
 “ assist it with their experience, and to second the zeal of the good citizens. I
 “ have also ordered the troops that are in
 “ the *Champ-de-Mars* to withdraw from
 “ Paris. The uneasiness you express on the
 “ disorders of that city must be felt by
 “ every heart, and affects mine very deeply.”

Before the return of the Deputation, for which the Assembly were waiting with the utmost impatience and uneasiness, two of
 the

the Electors of Paris sent by the Committee from the *Hotel-de-Ville*, presented themselves and demanded an audience. They had set out before the Bastille was thrown open and abandoned to the populace. The resolution by which they were deputed to the Assembly, and which was signed by *M. de Fleffelles*, charged them to paint “ the dreadful situation of the Capital ; the disasters that had happened in the neighbourhood of the Bastille ; the inefficacy of the Deputations that had been sent to the Governor, with a drum and flag as tokens of peace, to desire that the cannon of the Bastille might not be directed against the people ; the death of several citizens killed by the fire from the Bastille ; the people calling loudly to besiege it, and the slaughter that may be the consequence of it ; and to entreat the National Assembly to have the goodness to consider in its wisdom, as promptly as possible, the means of averting from Paris the horrors of civil war.”

This resolution contained also the intention of the Committee to keep up a daily correspondence with the National Assembly.

The Speaker of the Deputation gave a very false account of what had passed at the Bastille,

Bastille, particularly in accusing *M. de Launay* of having allowed the Deputation, which appeared with a flag and drum in token of peace, to enter the court, and of then firing upon them. This pretended treachery excited a general clamour of indignation and horror throughout the Assembly; and *Mirabeau* called out furiously for the head of Marshal *Broglie*.

The Archbishop of *Vienne* being still at the Palace with the Deputation, *M. de la Fayette*, who was President in his absence, answered the Electors: “That the Assembly
“ were incessantly engaged, night and day,
“ on the means of preventing, or putting an
“ end to, the public misfortunes; and that a
“ numerous Deputation was gone at that
“ very time to the King, with the most ear-
“ nest entreaties to remove the troops.”

To leave no doubt in the minds of the Parisians respecting the sentiments of the Assembly, he invited the Deputies to be present at the debate on their demand. Here almost all the Deputies rose at once, and proposed that another Deputation should be sent to the King, to inform him of the new circumstances reported by the Electors, and to insist more strongly

strongly on the removal of the troops. At this moment the first Deputation entered, and read the King's answer : but far from being satisfied with it, it was regarded as a farther motive to dispatch another Deputation immediately. It was not enough for the factious, that the King consented to remove the troops that were in the *Champ de Mars* ; it was necessary that those in the environs should also be sent away ; and such was the wish that the new Deputation was charged to convey to his Majesty.

It was then half after ten o'clock at night. The King, in consternation at the scenes of horror that were passing at Paris, was consulting with his Ministers without being able to come to any final resolution ; for the fresh circumstances of which they were every instant informed, continually changed the grounds of the question. The Council were in this state of irresolution and embarrassment when the next deputation arrived. They were immediately admitted. The Archbishop of *Paris*, who was their Speaker, painted the situation of the Capital in the most pathetic terms, conjured the King to yield to the wishes of the Assembly, and read to him the whole of the Resolution of
the

the Committee of the Electors. The King replied: “ You rend my heart more and more
“ by the account you give me of the calamities of Paris. It is not possible to believe, that the orders which have been
“ given to the troops are the cause of them.
“ You know the answer I gave to the preceding Deputation; I have nothing more
“ to add to it.”

The emotion with which the King pronounced these words, was sufficiently expressive of the grief he felt; the Deputation were deeply affected by it, and the Archbishop of *Paris* represented it to the Assembly in the properest manner to dispose them to hear his Majesty's answer without prejudice; but the Majority, which was composed of the most timid Deputies, coalescing through terror with the boldest, thought this answer still insufficient, and no one dared to utter or support a different opinion. The two Electors still present at the sitting, waiting for an answer to the Deputation from the *Hotel-de-Ville*, requested to have one from the Assembly, who being able to succour the rebels in no other way than by their Resolutions, hastened to adopt one that might satisfy them, and charged the two Deputies to carry it

it to their colleagues. This Resolution was as follows :

“ The National Assembly, deeply affected
“ by the calamities which they had but too
“ plainly foreseen, have never ceased re-
“ questing of his Majesty the full and ab-
“ solute retreat of the troops assembled in
“ an extraordinary manner in the Capital
“ and neighbourhood. They have again
“ sent this day two Deputations to the
“ King on this subject, on which they have
“ been incessantly employed night and day.
“ They will take the same steps to-morrow,
“ and render them still more pressing if pos-
“ sible. They will never cease repeating
“ them, and making new efforts, until they
“ meet the success which they have a right
“ to expect from the justice of their de-
“ mand, and from the King’s own heart
“ when its emotions are not suspended by
“ impressions from others.”

Can it be conceived, that during an in-
furrection, in which the people armed and
constantly committing acts of violence were
every where but feebly resisted by the troops,
the removal of these could have been consider-
ed and solicited by the Assembly as the only
means of suppressing the infurrection and
pre-

preventing new ones? This is the kind of reasoning that was used by the innocent shepherd who, attempting to gain the friendship of the wolves by confidence, shut up his dogs and left his fold open; by which he soon lost his flock, and in the end was devoured himself: a fable which might be applied to the Revolution, if in this instance the conduct of the Assembly could be ascribed to their *innocence*. But it was too clear that they neither wished to suppress the insurrection, nor prevent new ones; on the contrary, they wished to ensure the triumph of the rebels, with whom they had already sided by the Resolution of the evening before—that of the 14th of the July being only the sequel of it. From their union there resulted a profusion of crimes, of so serious a nature as to call upon History to supply the want of criminal justice, by arraigning those who shared in them, even through weakness; for weakness is never an excuse for the crimes of High Treason.

These Resolutions were essentially connected with the plot which had produced the insurrections of the Capital, of which the chief leaders were in the Assembly, and the *Palais-Royal* was their focus. The ob-

ject of the conspirators was to raise the Duke of *Orleans* to the rank of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. That Prince, incapable from his defect of energy and character of being the leader of any party whatever, was indeed nothing more than the puppet of his Faction: he lent them his name, gave them his money, and left every thing to their management. They held their Secret Committees at Montrouge near Paris, and the elder *Mirabeau*, the Abbé *Sieyes*, *La Clos*, and *La Touche*, were at the head of them. From this Committee proceeded the instructions and the funds, which were given to trusty agents, who transmitted them to the incendiaries of the *Palais-Royal*, and to a great number of underlings, paid for seasonably exciting insurrections at Paris and throughout the kingdom; for corresponding with the army, disposing it to defection; and for other manœuvres of the like nature. The insurrection of the 12th of July, in which the cries of *Vive le Duc d'Orleans* were occasionally shouted, and the outrages without number which disgraced the following days, were only calculated to convince the King and his Ministers, that the Duke of *Orleans* could alone restore calm to the

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the Capital, and by his credit and influence put a stop to those excesses, which his Majesty had lost the power of suppressing or of punishing. *Mirabeau* never doubted that the rank of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, applied for by that Prince less as a reward for any service that merited it, than as the necessary means of doing service, would be granted to him without the least difficulty; and the only question that remained, was to prevail upon him to ask it, and *to compose his theme for him*. These were the expressions made use of by *Mirabeau* himself in speaking of this fact. It was then agreed that the Duke of *Orleans* should present himself at the Council door while they were sitting, that he should desire admission on very urgent business, and which it was of the utmost consequence to mention to the King; that he should offer to go as Mediator between the King and the Capital; and that he should make his appointment to the rank of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom the essential condition of his mediation*.

* See for all these facts the Proceedings at the Chatelet against the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October, and particularly the Deposition of *M. de Virieu*, Vol. I. page 213, No. 140.

The authors of this plan had no more consulted the interests of the Duke of *Orleans* than his capacity, with which they had nothing to do. Their only object was to concentrate power, the nomination to offices, and above all, the disposal of the funds of the Royal treasure, in the Committee of Montrouge, who were to become his Majesty's Ministers, directed by *Mirabeau*, for whom the place of Prime Minister was reserved. Nor even here were the views of the *Orleans* Faction bounded: the rank of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom was only to be a step for that Prince to mount the throne the moment the occasion offered; and the progress of the Revolution was too rapid to allow that period to be considered as at a great distance.

The existence of this horrible project is the less to be disputed as *Mirabeau* himself avowed it in the Assembly; and pushed his effrontery so far as to maintain, "that this
" project was such as every Citizen might
" boast: that it was not only justifiable at
" the period in which it was planned, but
" that it was good in itself, and even laud-
" able! Would you think it strange," added he, "that a friend of the throne and
" of

“ of liberty, on observing the horizon dark-
“ ened, and judging better than the enthu-
“ siast of the tendency of opinion, the ac-
“ celeration of events, and the dangers of
“ insurrection, should have said to the
“ vaunted Royalist, *Well, who denies you*
“ *that the French are Monarchists? Who*
“ *disputes with you that France both needs*
“ *and desires a King? But a Louis XVII.*
“ *will be King as well as Louis XVI.; and*
“ *if the Nation can be persuaded that*
“ *Louis XVI. is an abettor and accessory*
“ *of the excesses that have wearied their*
“ *patience, they will call for a Louis*
“ *XVII.! The zealous supporter of Liberty*
“ would have pronounced these words with
“ so much the more energy, *as he would*
“ *have been better acquainted with circum-*
“ *stances that might render his discourse*
“ *more efficacious.* And would he ap-
“ pear to you a conspirator, a bad citizen,
“ or even a bad reasoner?”

It was not to Jacobins, but in the tribune of the National Assembly that *Mirabeau* dared to utter these regicide expressions, in justification of himself; which at any other time, and any where but in France, would have

led him to the scaffold*. They discover but too plainly the object of the infamous calumnies which began at that time to be spread against the King, and more particularly against the Queen.

The Duke of *Orleans* having made himself thorough master of the *Theme* which the Committee of Montrouge had prepared for him, went on the 15th to the Palace, where he witnessed the affliction and alarm spread by the news of the Bastile being taken, and of the enormities that had been the consequences of it. He surely could not have chosen a juncture more favourable to the demand he went to make: accordingly, he presented himself at the door of the King's chamber, which was before the Council Hall, and, as the Baron *de Breteuil* was coming out of it, asked him, with the most embarrassed air, if he could not speak with his Majesty. "It is not possible," replied the Minister; "the King is just retired to his apartments, and will see nobody; but if you have any thing to ask of him, or to communicate to him, you

* This Speech is given at full length in the paper of the *Moniteur*, October 4, 1790.

“ may write to him and send me your letter,
 “ which I will give to him this evening at
 “ the Council, unless you think proper to
 “ write directly to myself: I will either
 “ show your letter to the King, or I will tell
 “ him any thing you desire.” He chose to
 write to the Minister; but instead of daring to
 mention in his letter to the Baron *de Bre-*
teuil the slightest pretensions to the rank of
 Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, he con-
 tented himself with begging that Minister to
 ask the King, to permit him to go over to
 England *if affairs took a disagreeable turn.*

The Duke of *Orleans*, too much ashamed
 of his cowardice to confess it to his trusty
 friends, only told them that his demand was
 before the King, and that the Baron *de Bre-*
teuil had undertaken to make the report of
 it to the Council which was to be held that
 very day, at seven o'clock in the evening.
 In consequence one of them went and waited
 in the antichamber for the breaking up of
 the Council, to be the first informed of such
 important news. The moment he per-
 ceived the Baron *de Breteuil*, he ran up to
 him, and eagerly asked, *if the affair of the*
Duke of Orleans had passed? “ Yes,
 “ without the least difficulty,” replied the

Minister. “ And is he appointed then Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom ? ” — “ Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom ! what is it you mean ? ” — “ The affair of the Duke of *Orleans*. ” — “ The Duke of *Orleans* has asked permission to go to England, and it is granted him : I know no other business he has. ” The emissary, disconcerted by so unexpected an answer, made no reply to this, but hastened to give an account of it to the Members of the Committee, and particularly to Count *Mirabeau*, whose rage, indignation, and contempt, were vented in violent imprecations against the Duke. Almost all these facts are proved in the proceedings at the Chatelet, on the offences of the 5th and 6th of October. No mention is there made of the circumstances relative to the Baron *de Breteuil*, because that Minister’s evidence was not called for on the trials ; but I have reported them because they were attested to me by *M. de Montmorin*, who heard them from the King, and from the Baron *de Breteuil* himself.

I now resume the chain of events which I thought it necessary to interrupt, that I might

might not break the narrative of so important an anecdote.

The night of the 14th of July was another night of anxiety and horror for the Parisians. Terrified at the enormity of their crimes, and particularly dreading the exemplary punishment they deserved, they firmly believed all the projects of vengeance with which the King was charged, and were in constant expectation of the bombardment of the Capital, or the arrival of squadrons upon squadrons of hussars. It was openly said, that the nobility had been only waiting for this moment to declare themselves against the people. It was no doubt to gain credit to this infamous calumny, that villains tolerably well dressed ran through the streets with chalk in their hands, stopped at all the small doors, and made different marks upon them, which the trembling citizens were eager to rub out unseen, in hopes of escaping the proscription of which they believed those marks to be the signals. The continual ringing of the alarm-bell, the confusion of the patrols, and their hurried march, kept up the general terror; which was still further increased sometimes by constant alarms given by the cries of, *to arms, to arms,*

arms, the hussars are coming; sometimes by the report of cannon heard at intervals, and which the Districts at a distance supposed were fired by the King's troops. Such was the cowardice of those famous conquerors of the Bastile, that a large body of armed citizens posted in the *Rue Vaugirard*, hearing the clank of chains at a distance, imagined it might be a train of artillery for a siege, with a powerful escort, and were so terrified at it, that a man passing at the moment, having called out with a frightened air, "*Here come the hussars!*" the whole troop deserted their post and vanished in a moment. One of the runaways going into a house, and getting up to the garret-window, soon saw that this formidable train of artillery, and this column of hussars, were nothing more than a carrier's waggon with a team of six horses.

In the History of our Revolution, as in that of the Revolutions of all countries, thousands of facts of the same kind may be cited, which all prove that the people, even in a state of rebellion, have only moments of bravery, or rather of fury, and that terror is in some sort natural to them. Their strength, which consists in their impetuosity,

petuosity, cannot withstand a long resistance, and to reduce them it is enough to attack them before they themselves begin the attack, or at the moment they give it over.

At length the day appeared, and dispelled the chimerical and ridiculous fears which had disturbed the sleep of the inhabitants of Paris. They were no longer apprehensive either of bombs or hussars, and were overjoyed at finding themselves as brave as they were the day before. But their agitation was kept up by the blackest suspicions, and by the most absurd conjectures. They were told, “ that the attack upon the capital had
 “ been only deferred, because the Court
 “ wished first to turn their vengeance against
 “ the Assembly ; that the villains who during the night had been crying—*to arms !*
 “ *here come the hussars !* were emissaries of
 “ the Ministers, who had made use of that
 “ infernal stratagem to alarm the Parisians
 “ on their own account, in order to prevent
 “ their going to the assistance of the Deputies, whose throats were perhaps all cut
 “ by that time.” When it was known that nothing had passed at Versailles, and that the Assembly continued to hold their sittings unmolested, it was rumoured, that the project

ject of the Ministers had failed, because the cannoniers, commanded by Marshal *Broglie*, had refused to obey him. The fact was, that Marshal *Broglie* had proposed to escort the King and the Royal Family safely to Metz with the army; and that his Majesty, instead of adopting that measure, which might have saved every thing, had determined, from the representations and entreaties of the Duke *de Liancourt*, to throw himself confidently upon the Assembly, and to consent to all they asked*.

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* On the same day the Archbishop of *Aix* being sent for, and consulted by the Queen, advised, that the King, far from dismissing the troops, who, the French Guards excepted, were still in the best order, should employ them to put an end to the riots, to dissolve the Assembly of the Electors, to restore order and tranquillity in Paris, &c. He thought that when the capital was thus reclaimed, his Majesty might, without any obstacle, suspend or dissolve the States-General on the grounds of convening the different public bodies of the State, or even the Bailiwick Assemblies, to advise with them on some of the important questions respecting which the Assembly were divided; that, during these various convocations, the King might re-establish and maintain the strictest Police throughout the Kingdom, and that the petitions and denunciations that would in the mean time be sent from every quarter against the States-

The Assembly not knowing this Resolution, were deliberating upon different plans of a new Address, which they intended to send to the King by a Deputation, to enforce his withdrawing the troops ; to demand the dismissal of all bad Counsellors from about his person, and to invite him to come to the Assembly.

The Deputies who were to go with this Address were named and ready to set out, when *Mirabeau* had the assurance to stop them by this violent apostrophe, dictated by the spirit of imposture and perfidy.

“ Tell the King,” cried he, “ that the
 “ foreign hordes by which we are invested,
 “ were yesterday visited by Princes and
 “ Princesses, and by favourites of both
 “ sexes, and were caressed, exhorted, and
 “ entreated by them. Tell him that all
 “ night long the foreign satellites, gorged
 “ with wine and gold, were predicting in
 “ their impious songs the subjugation of
 “ France ; and that their brutal prayers in-
 “ voked destruction upon the National As-

States-General, would render it unnecessary to assemble them again, and would put it in the King's power to resort to the means proposed by the first Assembly of the Notables to supply the deficit.

“ ssembly.

“sembly. Tell him that in his very Palace
“his courtiers were dancing to the sounds
“of this barbarous music, and that such
“was the prelude to the scene on St. Bar-
“tholomew’s day. Tell him that that
“*Henry*, whose memory the Universe
“blesses,—he whom from among his an-
“cestors he chose for his model, sent pro-
“visions into Paris, although in a state of
“rebellion, and besieged by himself in
“person; but that his ferocious Counsellors
“cause the flour which commerce brings
“to Paris, to be turned away, although
“Paris is loyal and famishing.”

The effect which these atrocious imputations, sanctioned in some degree by the silence of the Assembly, might produce at so critical a juncture, would naturally increase the embarrassment and the alarms of the King and the Ministers, and consequently dispose them to listen readily to the demand which the Duke of *Orleans* was that day to make in the Council. This was no doubt the view of Count *Mirabeau*, and the hope of the Committee of Montrouge, but they had not foreseen that the King would render this manœuvre useless by going himself to the Assembly before the Deputation set out.

In

In fact, at that very moment they were informed by the Duke *de Liancourt* that such was the intention of his Majesty, whose arrival was soon after announced by the Grand Master of the Ceremonies.

It was then determined, that the Deputation who were to have gone to the Palace should go and wait to receive the King in the court before the entrance of the Hall. Meanwhile it was debated what look the Assembly ought to assume, when the King appeared; and whether they should receive him with the usual marks of applause, or, as a great number of the Deputies wished, with silence and gloomy respect. But before the question was decided the King entered, accompanied only by his two brothers. The moment he appeared, that respect, that love, that irresistible softness, which the countenance of a good Monarch in misfortune always excites, became manifest, in the most affecting manner. The whole Assembly rose at once; those who had dared to propose keeping silence experienced the impossibility of it, and mixed with rapture their applauses and cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" with those of the Deputies who remained loyal, and who were only distinguished by
3 the

the tears that filled their eyes. When his Majesty came to the middle of the Hall, near the chair that was set for him, he delivered standing, and without putting on his hat, this Speech, which was anticipated by his hearers before he opened his mouth.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ It was to consult you upon the most
“ important affairs of the State that I called
“ you together. There is none more press-
“ ing, or which more particularly affects
“ my heart, than the dreadful disorders
“ which reign in the capital. The Head
“ of the Nation comes with confidence in-
“ to the midst of its Representatives to ex-
“ press his pain to them, and to invite them
“ to fall upon means to re-establish order
“ and tranquillity. I know that unjust preju-
“ dices have been raised ; I know that some
“ have dared to publish that your persons are
“ not safe. Could it be necessary to contradict
“ such criminal reports, contradicted on
“ the face of them by my known charac-
“ ter? Well then! I, who am but one
“ with my people, I will trust myself to
“ you. Assist me at this juncture to secure
“ the safety of the State. I expect it from
“ the

“ the National Assembly ; the zeal of the
 “ Representatives of my People united for
 “ the common welfare assures me of it ;
 “ and, depending upon the love and alle-
 “ giance of my subjects, I have given orders
 “ for the troops to withdraw from Paris and
 “ from Versailles. I authorise, nay invite
 “ you to make my Resolution known to
 “ the Capital.”

The King delivered this Speech with so
 affecting yet so confident an air, and with
 a voice so affectionate, that the Assembly
 could not hear him without interrupting him
 at every sentence by testimonies of joy and
 gratitude. To have replied in a manner
 worthy this Speech, the President ought to
 have confined himself to expressing the sen-
 timents manifested, not by a majority, but
 by the whole Assembly ; and surely it was
 the height of barbarity or stupidity to choose
 that moment for expressing distrust to the
 King, and imputing the public calamities
 to him by attributing them to the dismissal
 of the Ministers. This even *Mirabeau* him-
 self would never have done ; but this the
 virtuous, the pious Archbishop of *Vienne*,
 who was then President of the Assembly,

dared to do ; and so incredible an Answer can only be reported in its very words :

“ SIRE,

“ The love of your subjects for your sacred person seems at this moment to encroach on the profound respect due to your presence—if, however, a Sovereign can be better respected than by the love of his subjects. The National Assembly receive with the greatest sensibility the assurances which your Majesty gives them of the removal of the troops assembled by your orders within and about the Capital, and in the vicinity of Versailles. *They suppose that the removal granted to their wishes by your Majesty is not simply a removal to some distance, but that the troops are to be sent back to the garrisons or quarters whence they came.*

“ The National Assembly have ordered me to mention on this occasion some of their last Resolutions, to which they affix the greatest importance*. They suppli-

* The Assembly neither had nor could have given such an order to the President before they had heard the King's Speech, and they did not debate after hearing it.

“ cate your Majesty to open without delay
 “ a free intercourse between Paris and Ver-
 “ failles; and to establish at all times an
 “ unrestrained and immediate communica-
 “ tion between them and your Majesty.
 “ They earnestly solicit your Majesty’s ap-
 “ probation to a Deputation they desire to
 “ send to Paris, with the view and hope of
 “ its contributing greatly to restore order to
 “ your Capital. Lastly, they renew their
 “ representations to your Majesty upon the
 “ changes that have taken place in your
 “ Council. *Those changes are one of the*
 “ *principal causes* of the melancholy trou-
 “ bles which afflict us, and distress the
 “ heart of your Majesty.”

“ My intentions and wishes,” replied the
 King, “ respecting the Deputation of the
 “ National Assembly are known: I will
 “ never refuse a communication with them
 “ whenever they deem it necessary.”

As he concluded this sentence the King
 moved forward to go out of the Hall, and
 the whole Assembly pressed after him. In
 the court he was so affected with the desire
 they showed of accompanying him still far-

ther, that his Majesty determined on walking to the Palace. The Deputies of the three Orders then mixed without distinction with the *Gardes-du-Corps*, and swarmed about his person, crying "*Vive le Roi!*" The people running in crowds from every quarter came and joined their acclamations to those of the Deputies. This immense retinue, composed of almost all the inhabitants of Versailles, soon became so embarrassing from the efforts they made all at the same time to get near the King, and enjoy the pleasure of seeing him, that his Majesty had an hour's painful walk before he arrived at the Palace. On the way a vulgar woman, for whom no doubt a *theme* had also been made, pressed through the crowd, came up to the King, and, throwing herself on her knees, said to him—"Oh! Sire! Oh! my King! Is what you have been doing really sincere? Will it not be again as it was a fortnight ago?" The King, far from taking offence at this insolence, raised the woman kindly, and replied—"Yes, yes, my good woman, it will be lasting; I will never change my opinion."

The Assembly having attended the King as far as the bottom of the flight of steps
in

in the Marble Court, returned to resume their Sitting, and resolved—“ That a De-
 “ putation composed of eighty-eight of the
 “ members should immediately set out for
 “ Paris; that they should use all their ef-
 “ forts, and employ every means possible,
 “ to restore order and tranquillity; to con-
 “ solidate the establishment of the bourgeois
 “ guard; and that they should publish in
 “ every part of the town the assurance given
 “ by the King, that the troops were going
 “ to withdraw from Paris and Versailles.”

As soon as the Deputation was gone, a member of the Assembly proposed an Address to the King, to demand the dismissal of the new Ministers, as being absolutely unworthy of the public confidence. This motion was too essentially connected with the plan and ambitious views of the Committee of Montrouge, not to be agreeable to Count *Mirabeau*, and he accordingly supported it with all his power; but it was rejected, on the observation made by Count *de Clermont Tonnerre*, “ That his Majesty
 “ ought to be suffered to relish at least for
 “ four-and-twenty hours the joy and happi-
 “ nefs of being King of so loyal a Nation;
 “ and that in so glorious a day it did not be-

“ come the dignity of the Assembly to attend to so contemptible a Ministry.”

Thus terminated that memorable Sitting, in which *Louis XVI*, ever impelled by his fatal reliance on the love and allegiance of the French, voluntarily stripped himself of all the means of supporting his authority, at a moment when the most powerful would scarcely have been sufficient to preserve it. He chose rather to leave his Throne without support to the mercy of all the factious who wished to overthrow it, and his own person without defence to the discretion of a people armed and delirious, than to shed the blood of any one of his subjects.

CHAPTER X.

The Electors generally censured — Their Embarrassment — The Commander of the Parisian Militia superseded — M. de la Fayette appointed in his stead, on the Command being refused by the Duke d'Aumont — M. Bailly appointed Mayor — Arrival of the Deputation from the Assembly at the Hotel-de-Ville — Speeches — Acclamations and Transports of Joy — Te Deum at Notre Dame — Conduct of the Electors and of the Assembly — Mr. Necker recalled — Retreat of the new Ministry — The King goes to Paris, accompanied by a numerous Deputation of the Assembly — Departure of the Duchess de Polignac — Sitting held by the King at the Hotel-de-Ville — The King receives the National

*Cockade—Speech made by M. de Lally—
General Joy—The King's return to Ver-
sailles.*

IT was soon known at Paris that the Assembly had not experienced any of the dangers with which it was said to have been menaced ; that the pretended refusal of the cannoniers to obey Marshal *Broglie*, and all the projects of vengeance attributed to the Ministers, were but ridiculous fables, destitute of every kind of foundation. Alarms and suspicions all vanished, and gave place to regret and remorse for the crimes, as atrocious as useless, with which the capital had disgraced itself. Dissatisfaction and sorrow were painted on every countenance. Loud murmurs were directed against the Electors, who were accused of ignorance, weakness, and evil intentions. The blame of all that had happened was thrown upon them.—“ They alone,” it was said, “ might have
“ been able to prevent it, and consequently
“ should be responsible for it.”

The Electors, alarmed at this temper, exerted their utmost efforts to avert from their own heads the storm that threatened them, and turned all the charges which were laid
to

to them upon the irresolution of *M. de Flesselles*, the want of a chief Magistrate after the death of that last of the *Prevôts*, and above all, upon the incapacity of the Commander of the bourgeois guard, with whom the people were exceedingly dissatisfied, for having taken no part in the events of the preceding days. “What,” said they, “have we to do with a Commander who does not command, and who cannot show himself a man?”

The Commander, *La Salle d'Offemont*, having no satisfactory reply to make to this reproach, the Electors hoped to effect a diversion in their own favour by employing themselves in the choice of another Commander. They first founded the Duke *d'Aumont*, who two days before had voluntarily tendered his services: he was sent for to the Committee of the Electors, and offered the place of *M. de la Salle*; but he refused it, under pretence that his personal connexions with the Court would render his appointment to the command more prejudicial than useful in the new order of things. On his refusal they appointed *M. de la Fayette*, who was known to be well disposed to accept the place. This appointment was fol-

followed by that of *M. Bailly* to the office of Mayor, a title now substituted for that of *Prevôt des Marchands*, because the new order of things, it was said, required that the Head of the Municipality of Paris should unite the functions of Lieutenant of Police, and even those of Minister of Paris, to those of *Prevôt des Marchands*.

Although the Districts objected, and with good reason, that the Electors, in proceeding to these appointments, had exercised a right that did not belong to them, the choice they had made gave general satisfaction, and their irregularity was forgotten in public approbation.

Tranquillity and hope began to revive, when they heard of the new measure adopted by the King, and of the departure of the Deputation sent by the National Assembly to Paris. These arrived, accompanied by the people of the different villages that lie on the road to Versailles. The Deputies got out of their carriages at the barrier *de la Conférence*, and walked to the *Hotel-de-Ville* through a lane formed by more than fifty thousand men, some armed with guns, others with pikes, axes, scythes, &c. The obstreperous homage of this undisciplined and
dis-

disorderly multitude gave this show much more the air of an insurrection than that of a *triumphal procession*. On all sides the people cried out—" *These are our saviours,*
 " *these are the deliverers of France—the*
 " *martyrs of Liberty! Long live the King!*
 " *Long live the Nation! Long live the Na-*
 " *tional Assembly!*" At every instant women of the lowest class making their way through the crowd sprang upon the Deputies, and overwhelmed them with the grossest caresses. They were all particularly desirous of embracing *M. de la Fayette* and the *Abbé Sieyès*.

The Hall of the *Hotel-de-Ville*, into which the Deputation was introduced, was soon filled with an immense crowd of people of all conditions. The Deputies having taken the places allotted for them, *M. de la Fayette* seized the first moment of silence to declare the object of the Deputation:—
 " Gentlemen," said he, " at length the mo-
 " ment most desired by the National As-
 " sembly is arrived. The King has been
 " deceived, he is no longer so: he this
 " day came amongst us, without arms,
 " without troops, without that awful array
 " with which Princes are surrounded, and
 " which to good Kings is so useless. He
 " has

“ has informed us that he has given orders
“ to the troops to retire. Let us forget our
“ misfortunes, or rather let us remember
“ them only in order to avoid similar ones
“ in future.”

He concluded with reading the Speech which the King had delivered in the Assembly, and of which every sentence excited the most lively acclamations of joy and gratitude. The applauses which every moment resounded in the Hall were reverberated with ecstasy by the immense populace that thronged the *Place-de-Greve*, the quays, and all the streets leading to the *Hotel-de-Ville*.

M. de Lally Tolendal then delivered the following Speech*:

“ Parisians, in us behold your fellow-citizens, your friends, your brothers, those who have the honour of being your immediate agents, those on whom your free and glorious suffrages have bestowed in the National Representation the distinction you en-

* This Speech has been altered, curtailed, and reported differently by all the Journalists. It is here inserted as the author sent it to me on my applying to him for it.

joy among the cities of France. You see men who are this day come to restore peace to you ; who guaranty it to you upon their faith, of which you have no doubt, and who, were it necessary, would guaranty it with their heads, which they will ever be ready to devote to your service. In the disastrous circumstances now for ever done away, you have never felt a single pang, never been exposed to a single crisis, which we have not truly participated or traced with anxiety. Your afflictions so deep !—your resentments, unfortunately so just ! your dangers too ! We were shocked to think ourselves away from them ; and our only consolation was, that we were labouring to avert them effectually at once from you, from our Country, and from our King. Yes ! from our King ! who, believe me, never thought of attacking you, but who has been attacked at the same time that you have ; who has been betrayed in a manner not less shamefully than yourselves. Fatal Counsels ! were it only their imprudence that could be accused of all the disorders to which the bare idea of them has given birth. How has your good, your virtuous King been deceived ! The poison of calumny has
1 been

been poured into his pure heart. He, whose mind must ever be conscious of his claims to your love, has been beset with terrors equally injurious to him and to the generous and affectionate Nation over whom he has the happiness and the honour of reigning. Citizens! notwithstanding this, what has happened? With any other Prince our duty might have been painful, and almost dreadful; with *Louis XVI.* it was only necessary to go directly to him, to point out the truth, and paint your misfortunes. It instantly drew tears from him. *You rend my heart!* said he to us last night, with an accent that immediately communicated comfort to our own; and this morning he came amongst us all without arms or parade. He had no train but that of his good actions; no guard but that of our love. In the midst of us he spoke in the noble and conciliatory language which you have just heard, and which you are about to bless. He told us that *he relied upon us*, that is, upon you; that he depended on our faith, that is, on yours. He requested us to *assist him with our counsels, in order to secure the safety of the State.* Judge whether our counsels will be for your happiness and his, or not; whether

whether either in our wishes or in yours the State can ever be separated from its Chief. He then informed us of *the order which he had given to the troops to withdraw*, and even while he was speaking to us the troops were in motion to obey that order. Every word he uttered was attended with all the effusions of our gratitude, and they were justly due to him. He came to throw himself into our arms, and in our arms we carried him in triumph back to his Palace; whence, impatient to gratify the first wish of his heart, we flew, deputed by him, to the People of his Capital*.

“Parisians! What have we experienced in our way to you? What emotions! what fights! what occurrences!—Here, companies of soldiers marching before us on their way to the frontiers, which they should never have left: there, crowds of people running to meet us, and to whom, in the name of the King, we restored the security which they never deserved to lose. All the houses, all the paths, resounding with the same acclamations which have just proceeded from

* General acclamations of “*Vive le Roi! Vivent nos Deputés!*”

yourselves, with those glorious shouts of—*Vive le Roi! Vive la Nation! Vive la Liberté**! And we, the Ministers of peace and love between the French and their Sovereign; we, faithful subjects, faithful Representatives, henceforth rendered happy by the union of those titles equally sacred, hearing confusedly, yet with delight, our names mixed with all these blessings, we said to each other, that this day was the most glorious of our lives, and that, if you chose, it would be the most glorious of the Monarchy.

“ Frenchmen! you must choose it. One prayer remains for us to make to you. It is addressed to you from the bottom of our hearts, and approved by our consciences; and by all that is dear to you we conjure you to grant it. In the name of the King and of the National Assembly we have brought you peace: let us now in your name carry back peace to the King and the National Assembly.† But peace in its fullest sense, peace that leaves no heart-burnings for the past—no distrust of the future. We

* The same shouts are repeated through the Hall.

† A general shout of PEACE!

were comforted at sight of *the measures taken by your prudence for the internal order* of your immense town. We were surpris'd that so violent an agitation should be succeeded by a Police so prompt and so regular as that which we every where observed on our way. You are impatient, I am sure of it, to affix your seal to this return of public tranquillity. While your voices are joining with mine in proclaiming peace, I see you are impatient to put an end to these warlike preparations, of which the slightest danger, if they continue, would be to afflict the sight of the citizen, and to turn away the steps of the stranger. You are the soldiers of Liberty, but scorn to be the bravo'es of Sedition. Greatly as you are to be admired for your courage, when roused by the dread of subjection you flew to arms, much more will you be admired for your virtue, in laying down those arms at the call of the King, who sets you the example, and in obedience to your Country, that commands it. Electors! and you that are fathers of families! who in the tempest flew to the helm, and without whom perhaps the vessel would ere this have

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been sunk *! it is more especially your part to accomplish these wishes. It is yours to temper the overflowing spirit of the young, and regulate the excess of their noble passions. Tell them, that they who calumniate Nations to their Kings merit all our execration: but tell them too, that they do not merit it more, neither are they more criminal or more dangerous than they who calumniate Kings to their Nations. Repeat to them those sacred maxims, which to your immortal honour, and for the preservation of some unfortunate men, were echoed round this Hall no longer since than yesterday. Put all our beloved fellow-citizens in mind, that a time of commotion is no time for legislation, and that the very bounties of the King, even our own zeal would be unavailing, if our tranquillity were disturbed. Tell them lastly, and tell them again and again, that they must now become the admiration or the scorn of Europe; that on this moment and for ever depends the HONOUR OF THE FRENCH NAME! I see you all start at these words. Citizens of every order and of every age, an-

* Acclamations of *Vivent les Electeurs!*

swer

swer me, I beseech you. Would you not rather suffer a thousand deaths than renounce or tarnish the honour of the French Name *? Do you not, true to that character, love your King, your Country, your Wives, your Parents, and your children †? Believe me then, that you will love them still more when you enjoy that liberty which gives a new existence to all the faculties of man, a new charm to all his feelings: and you shall enjoy it, you shall be a free people; for your King has promised it, and your Representatives have sworn it ‡. Well! you mean then no more to wound all that is dear to you, by cruel strifes?—You mean that there shall be no more proscriptions?—Punishment must flow only from the Law; without which, resentment the justest in its principle may become criminal in its effects. Let there be an end to irregular denunciations, to tumultuous proceedings against bad citizens:

* A general cry of—Yes! yes!

† Yes! yes! yes!

‡ A general cry of—*Vive le Roi! Vivent nos Représentans!*

there shall be no more bad citizens, all will be rendered good by your example*.

“ Citizens! you see, we are all agreed. I do not express a single thought in which my words are not anticipated by your feelings. I thank you for the kind attention with which you have listened to me, and will not encroach upon it; but, in concluding, allow my parting words to be the repetition of those which your generous and beneficent Monarch this morning impressed upon our hearts. Addressing the National Assembly, he said, “ I TRUST TO YOU.” To you, my fellow-citizens, I say, *The National Assembly trust to you; they resign themselves to you.* All is contained in this single sentence—Our wants and your rights; both what we feel and what is due to you; the security of our labours, and the prosperity of your Country.”

When to quell a popular insurrection it is necessary to use persuasion instead of forcible means, the speaker who undertakes so

* Repeated cries of—Peace! No more proscriptions!

hazardous

hazardous a task must necessarily address the people in a language to which they will listen, and of course he must soothe them, and even appear to approve their excesses, in order the more surely to gain their confidence*. They must be treated like those maniacs whom opposition always irritates, and whose ideas one must pretend to adopt, to succeed the more easily in making them relinquish them. It is thus we must understand *M. de Lally's* speech, to refrain from severely censuring him for saying *that any part of the resentment of the people was just, that he admired the plan of defence adopted by the Parisians, and the order of their Police.* Those acts of rebellion were crimes that could be really admired only by the villains capable of committing them, and certainly no man was farther removed from that class than *M. de Lally.* These therefore were artful phrases adapted to circumstances: he feigned to approve and to admire the insurrection, to be able the more easily to arrest its course. The speech,

* Accidit tamen aliquando ut sicut equo propter ferociam, ita civi contumaci propter potentiam blandiendum. (Hobbes, *De Cive*).

however, produced so lively an emotion in the crowd of hearers, that the speaker was in danger of being stifled by the embraces of all within reach of him. A crown of flowers was offered to him; which he modestly refused, saying that the homage was due to the National Assembly; but in spite of his efforts to prevent it, it was placed upon his head. His audience were then desirous of showing him to the people assembled in the square, and, notwithstanding his resistance, drew him to a window, where he received a testimony of the satisfaction of all the spectators, by continued shouts of applause. The speech most successful after *M. de Lally's* was that of the Count *de Clermont-Tonnerre*.

The necessity of a return to subordination, justice, and peace, was so generally felt, that if the Assembly had known how, or been inclined, to seize the occasion to re-establish public authority on its legitimate basis, to restore order, and to invest the King again with the means of maintaining it, nothing could have been easier: but the commission of the Deputies did not go so far, and doubtless they did not dare to exceed it. Their speeches, though full of eloquent invitations

vitations to union and tranquillity, pointed out no means for re-establishing them, proposed no plan, and left people the best inclined still at a loss what resolution to take. This embarrassment was relieved by a proposal, luckily made by the Archbishop of Paris, to go and sing the *Te Deum* at *Notre-Dame*; and the necessity for doing something uncommon caused it to be unanimously adopted. The Deputation walked to the church accompanied by the people; and after the *Te Deum*, *M. de la Fayette*, amidst the firing of cannon, the beating of drums, and the sound of military music, took the oath of faithfully performing the duties of General of the Parisian Militia. Such was the result, far more pious than useful, of this important deputation. Scarcely were they set out for Versailles, when the Electors, taking to themselves the invitations to re-establish order, and considering them as a solemn confirmation of the powers they had arrogated, became intent upon the means of confirming their usurpation. As *M. Bailly's* appointment to the office of Mayor had placed at their head the first President of the National Assembly, they thought they might proceed on an equality with the Representa-

tives of the Nation. This pretension, ridiculous as it was, flattered the vanity of the Parisians, and did not a little contribute to make them approve all the resolutions and measures taken by the Electors to organize and confirm their authority.

In the account given next day by the Deputation to the National Assembly, they declared that the cry at the *Hotel-de-Ville*, in the *Place-de-Greve*, and through the whole town, had been unanimous in requiring the recall of Mr. *Necker*, and the removal of the new Ministers. “It was not in my power,” said *M. de Lally*, “to pass over in silence the wishes of the Capital, because my fellow-citizens conjured me to declare them to you; and I but yield to the dictates of my conscience, and perform my duty, in laying before you the orders of my Constituents.”

Count *Mirabeau*, ever faithful to the plan of the *Montrouge* Committee, had prepared a speech for the occasion, with the outline of an address, which he then read. It was a most violent Philippic against the new Ministers; but it went no farther than their dismissal, without showing the least desire that the disgraced Ministers should be recalled.

called. It was however highly applauded, and almost all the Members of the Assembly who spoke, allowed that it was unseemly to ask for the recall of Mr. *Necker*, and were of opinion that the Representatives of the Nation had done enough in testifying their esteem and regret for him. *M. de Lally* opposed this opinion, which was given up, and it was then determined that a Deputation should be sent to the King to request the removal of the new Ministers, and the recall of Mr. *Necker*.

While they were deliberating on the alterations to be made in the address proposed by *Mirabeau*, the King sent to inform the Assembly that the Baron *de Breteuil* had refused to be in the administration, and that the other Ministers had sent in their resignation. On this it was instantly resolved, that a Deputation should be sent to his Majesty to express the gratitude of the Assembly: but before they set out, a Member of the Nobility said, “That he was
“authorised to declare, that the King, on
“being informed of the wishes of the Parisians, had resolved to go and appear
“among them in the Capital, and that he
“desired the Assembly to make this resolution
“tion

“ tion known to *his good city of Paris.*” In consequence of this, it was resolved, that a Deputation should instantly carry this gratifying news to the Capital; and that his Majesty should be entreated to allow a numerous Deputation of the National Assembly to attend him to Paris.

That sent to the Palace very soon returned, and made known that the King accepted the attendance of the Members offered by the Assembly; that Mr. *Necker* should be recalled; that his Majesty, to give the Representatives of the Nation a fresh proof of his confidence, sent them the letter which he had written to that Minister, and desired they would have it conveyed to him at Brussels, where he would probably be still overtaken.

It was resolved that the President should also write to Mr. *Necker*, to invite him in the name of the Assembly to hasten his return. The letter* was instantly written, and, with the King's, given to *Dufresne de St. Leon*, a friend of Mr. *Necker's*, who immediately set out to overtake him at Brussels. The Assembly then proceeded to ap-

* See Appendix, No. 2.

point a hundred Deputies to accompany the King to Paris, of which honour they were all ambitious. *Louis XVI.* yielding them every thing, giving up all to them, became in their eyes the paragon of Kings. They were not satisfied with comparing him to *Louis XII.* and *Henry IV.*—*Rabaud de St. Etienne*, a Deputy and Journalist, placed him in his paper on a par with *Charlemagne*.

While the Assembly gave themselves up to the joy of seeing every thing succeed according to their wishes, the Palace was in the deepest consternation. I went thither that morning at eleven o'clock, without knowing what had passed, and was frozen with apprehension at the solitude and silence that reigned. I anxiously asked the person in waiting, whom I found alone in the antichamber, if the King were within? “Yes, “Sir,” he replied, “I believe he is still “within.”—“Why *still*? Is he going “out?”—“I don’t know, Sir, but it has “not a good look.” “Has any thing new “then occurred since yesterday, do you “know?” “No, Sir, but many things are “said.”—“Are any of the Ministers with “the King?” “Ministers! he has no “longer

“ longer any : nobody has been here but
“ *M. D'Ogny**, who saw the King this
“ morning.” I hastened to *M. D'Ogny*,
with whom I was intimately connected, and
from him I learned the dismissal of the
Ministers, their departure, that of the Count
d'Artois, the Duchefs *de Polignac*†, and
many others.

The joy of the Parisians was still mixed
with uneasiness and the most absurd suspi-

* Comptroller of the Posts.

† The Duchefs of *Polignac* has been the object of the
most atrocious calumnies, because she continued faithful
to the Queen, whom her enemies were anxious to ren-
der odious in the sight of the People by every kind of
means ; and that of defaming her best friends was
doubtless one of the surest. *Madame de Polignac* never
would have left their Majesties, had not the King, whose
esteem, confidence, and affection for her were very high,
insisted on her quitting the Kingdom about the 16th of
July. He dreaded her being involved in the dangers
with which he was surrounded. The interest and
affectionate friendship which the virtuous *Louis XVI.*
preserved to the end of his life for the Duchefs of *Poli-*
gnac, would have fully cleared her from all the odious
imputations which slander had dared to cast upon her ;
but she was not able to survive the horrible destiny of
her august benefactors. Death has torn her from her
friends, and that is to say, from all who knew her.—
I had not that honour, and therefore what I have said is
much less an apology for her, than respect paid to Truth.

cions :

cions : they fully confided in the intentions and promises of the King ; but the troops, of whose removal they had been told, were still in the environs of Paris, and they took it into their heads that the Ministers had delayed their departure only to employ them against the Capital. In vain were they shown the impossibility of thirty thousand men marching at once, and before the necessary measures had been taken to secure their subsistence on the different roads : fear is not to be conquered by reason, and fear was their constant predominant sensation. It was kept up by the disorder still prevailing among the patrols, whose number, confusion, and precipitate movements, gave a sanction to the most alarming impostures : besides, some false patrols were from time to time taken up, composed of those ruffians who infest all great towns, and who constantly have pillage in view. These were disarmed and carried to the *Hotel-de-Ville* ; the People secured and barricaded their houses still more than the preceding days ; the alarm-bell incessantly called to arms those citizens who had been able to get any ; and they were seen running to their Districts, and to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, as eagerly as if the siege

or blockade they supposed intended by the Ministers had been already begun.

The Electors having in vain tried every means to allay this fermentation, imagined that the presence of some Members of the National Assembly might have that effect, and despatched a Deputation to beseech them to send a certain number as soon as possible. This Deputation was gone when they learned that the King had caused the Assembly to be informed of the retreat of the new Ministers, of the recall of Mr. *Necker*, and of his Majesty's intention to come to Paris the next day. But as this news was not officially announced, they were less disposed to believe it than to consider it as a snare laid by some Minister in the conspiracy, to lull the vigilance of the Parisians. In consequence, all the posts were re-enforced, and the streets lighted up more than ever.

The Deputation commissioned by the Assembly to go and inform the Capital of the King's intentions, did not arrive at the *Hotel-de-Ville* till two o'clock; when the news was immediately spread through all the Districts, and before seven in the morning more than a hundred thousand men were under arms to go and meet his Majesty.

On

On Friday the 17th of July the King left Versailles, at nine o'clock in the morning, with a guard composed solely of the Bourgeois Militia of Versailles. The National Assembly met the King on his way before the Hall, and the Deputation appointed to attend him fell into his train. A much greater number of the Members of the Assembly, consulting only their zeal and loyalty, joined the retinue, and a little allayed the lively apprehensions felt by the Queen and the Royal Family : apprehensions doubtless very natural. Could one without shuddering think of the dangers the King ran, in being led, by his confidence and the love of his people, into the midst of a mad multitude stained with so many crimes, already habituated to blood, and whose very joy was so ferocious ?—A bribed villain, a fanatic fellow, a single moment, might have proved fatal.—Alas ! the destiny of *Louis* retarded that moment but to render it more execrable !

The Paris Militia, who were waiting for the King at Seves, relieved that of Versailles, who nevertheless continued to attend his Majesty.

The

The Horse Guards led the way, and were followed by the French Guards, with the cannon and colours of the Bastille at their head. The Members of the Assembly, filing off in pairs and forming a double column, went next; and, after them, the infantry of the Bourgeois Militia. A considerable detachment of Volunteer Cavalry preceded *M. de la Fayette*, who, as Commander, was on horseback with his sword drawn in the midst of the train. The Paris guard, the music of the City Guards, the fish-women clothed in white, ornamented with ribbons of the colours of the National cockade, and carrying in their hands flowers and branches of laurel, made up the part of the procession immediately before the King's coach, in which were the Dukes *de Villequier* and *de Villeroy*, Marshal *Beauveau*, and Count *d'Estaing*. The carriage was surrounded by some hundreds of Swiss in common clothes, without arms, and confounded with the crowd.

The King was received at the barrier *de la Conference* by the Municipal Body. *M. Bailly*, as Mayor, executing the office of *Prevôt des Marchands*, presented the keys of
the

the town to his Majesty in a silver bason, and addressed him in the following Speech :

“ Sire ! I bring your Majesty the keys of
“ your good City of Paris : they are the
“ same that were presented to *Henry IV.*
“ He had conquered his People ; at present
“ it is the People who have conquered their
“ King.

“ Your Majesty comes to enjoy the peace
“ which you have established in your Capital, and to enjoy the love of your faithful
“ subjects. It is for their happiness that
“ your Majesty has assembled the Representatives of the Nation, and that with
“ them you are going to undertake to lay
“ the basis of liberty and public prosperity.
“ What a memorable day was that, when
“ your Majesty went to sit in person in the
“ midst of this united family, and were escorted back to your palace by the whole
“ National Assembly, guarded by the Representatives of the Nation, and surrounded
“ by an immense body of people ! Your
“ Majesty’s countenance beamed with sensibility and happiness, whilst around you
“ nothing was heard but acclamations of
“ joy, nothing seen but tears of tenderness

“ and love. Sire ! neither your People nor
“ your Majesty will ever forget that great
“ day, the most glorious of the Monarchy,
“ the æra of an august *and eternal* alliance
“ between the Monarch and the People.
“ This circumstance is unparalleled, and
“ immortalizes your Majesty. To that glo-
“ rious day I was witness ; and as if every
“ happiness were meant for me, the first
“ duty of the office to which I have been
“ called by the suffrages of my fellow-citi-
“ zens, is to present you with the expres-
“ sion of their respect and of their love.”

Having listened to this speech, the King continued his way to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, through a lane of treble ranks of armed people roaring out *Vive la Nation*, and perpetually mixing with those senseless acclamations the brutal cry, which cannot be repeated without horror, of *Do not call Vive le Roi*. Such was the first homage which the good Parisians, the good City of Paris, offered to *Louis XVI.* in return for his goodness, his confidence, and all his sacrifices : such were the expressions of their respect and love, such the noble manner in which *this People who had conquered their King*
I made

made use of their victory! A great number of the *Gardes-du-Corps*, having no other arms than their swords, then came up, and requested permission to attend the King, but were not allowed, and were stopped at the barrier.

The sadness which this disgusting reception struck to the heart of the unfortunate Monarch, appeared on his face in so affecting a manner, that it was impossible to look at him without feeling it. The number of those who turned away their heads to hide their tears, was greater by thousands than that of the villains whose savage cries compelled their silence. Fortunately it was not long before the King perceived this, and remarked it to Marshal *Beauveau*: “Those
 “ who are silent,” said he with emotion,
 “ are the real Parisians; and all those noisy
 “ fellows are only ruffians who do not be-
 “ long to the town: I am sure of it.” The Duke *de Brissac*, from whom I had this anecdote, related it to me in 1792, when I was expressing to him my uneasiness on account of the mobs that were constantly gathered in the *Thuileries*, under the windows of the palace, abusing the King and Queen in the grossest manner. Alas! their Majesties believed,

even at that period, that they might depend upon the loyalty of the Parisians.

When the King arrived at the *Champs Élysées*, three or four guns were fired at once. It was never known whence they proceeded; but it is certain that an unfortunate woman in the crowd, who was in the direction of his Majesty's carriage, was shot at the time, and fell dead on the spot. All the Journals confirmed this fact; some considering it as an artifice practised by the enemies of public order, to excite tumult and furnish grounds for some adventure; others ascribing it to the unskilfulness and inexperience of such a number of men who never handled fire-arms before*. Far from admitting this last conjecture, I cannot but think, on the contrary, that they only who had ordered and paid for those four shots, fired at once in the direction of the King's carriage which held four persons, could see any awkwardness in the circumstance.

Near the *Pont-neuf* the King observed cannon, in the mouths and touch-holes of which were large nosegays, and tickets with

* *Moniteur*, No. 27. from the 28th to the 29th of July 1789, under the head of Paris.

these words: *Your presence has disarmed us.—At the sight of you, flowers grow on the death-winged thunderbolts, with which your enemies and ours have forced us to arm ourselves.*

It was twenty minutes past four o'clock when the King arrived at the *Place-de-Greve*, and alighted at that flight of steps which a few days before had been stained with blood by the perpetration of so many murders. Thousands of pikes and naked swords were at the same instant crossed over his august head, and under this vault of steel his Majesty was conducted to the great hall of the *Hotel-de-Ville*, where a throne was prepared for him.

* The cries of *Vive le Roi*, with which the Hall resounded till his Majesty was on the throne, had a character of happiness and sensibility that no words can express. *M. Bailly* offered the King a cockade similar to that which the Citizens had adopted. His

* As I was not present at this ceremony, I thought I could not do better than report the account given on the very day to the National Assembly by one of the Deputies, *Sallé de Choux*, who attended the King to Paris. See his Report in the Minute of the Sitting in the evening of the 17th of July.

Majesty received it, and kept it constantly in his hat. The feelings excited in his mind were manifest on his countenance and in all his actions, in such a manner as to increase the emotions of all present.

When at length the tumult was calmed and silence obtained, *M. Moreau de St. Mery*, President of the Assembly of Electors, addressed the King in a speech, wherein he observed to his Majesty, that the People who broke out into such real and general raptures could little deserve to have their intentions towards their King calumniated. "Sire," said he, "you have now only to repeat to yourself this great and affecting truth: *The thrones of Kings are never more solid than when founded on the love and fidelity of their people.*—By this title yours will be unshaken."

Ethys de Corny, as the King's Solicitor for the City, then rose and proposed, that in order to consecrate the æra of this great day, a monument be erected to *Louis XVI. the Restorer of Liberty.*

The King wished to speak; but being prevented by the excess of his emotions, *M. Bailly* went up to his Majesty, and, after receiving his orders, said, That the King was
come

come to calm the uneasiness which might still subsist respecting the intentions he had made known to the Nation, and to enjoy the sight and love of his People: that his Majesty desired that peace and tranquillity should be re-established in the Capital, that the usual order should be resumed, and that, if any breach of the laws took place, the guilty should be delivered up to justice.

M. Bailly having then declared that his Majesty permitted any one to speak, *M. de Lally Tolendal* rose and spoke as follows:

‘ Now, Citizens, now are you satisfied?
‘ Behold the King for whom you loudly
‘ called, and whose name alone excited your
‘ raptures, when two days ago we mention-
‘ ed it in the midst of you! Enjoy his pre-
‘ sence and his favours. Behold him who
‘ has restored your National Assemblies, and
‘ who wishes to perpetuate them! Behold
‘ him who has undertaken to establish Li-
‘ berty and Property upon unmoveable foun-
‘ dations! Behold him who has offered
‘ you, if I may so say, a participation of
‘ his authority, reserving to himself only
‘ that which is necessary for your happiness,

‘ that which ought ever to belong to him,
‘ and that which you yourselves ought to
‘ conjure him never to lose! Let him at
‘ length be comforted; let his noble and
‘ pure heart carry hence that peace of which
‘ he is so worthy; and since, surpassing the
‘ virtue of his predecessors, he has thought
‘ proper to place his power and greatness in
‘ our love, to be obeyed only through love,
‘ to be guarded only by love, let us not be
‘ either less sensible or less generous than our
‘ King; and let us prove to him, that even
‘ his power and his greatness have gained
‘ a thousand times more than they have sa-
‘ crificed.

‘ And you, Sire, permit a subject, who,
‘ though neither more faithful nor more de-
‘ voted than all around you, is as much so
‘ as any one under your command; permit
‘ him, Sire, to raise his voice towards you,
‘ and to say, Behold the People who idolize
‘ you, the People whom the very sight of
‘ you intoxicates, and whose sentiments to-
‘ wards your sacred person can never admit
‘ of a doubt! Look, Sire, and comfort
‘ yourself by looking at all the citizens of
‘ your Capital! Observe their eyes, hear
‘ their

‘ their voices, penetrate their hearts, which
‘ fly to meet you. There is not a man here
‘ who is not ready to shed the last drop of
‘ his blood for you and for your lawful
‘ authority*. No, Sire, the present race of
‘ Frenchmen is not so unfortunate as to
‘ have it reserved for them to belie fourteen
‘ centuries of loyalty. We would all pe-
‘ rish if it were necessary in defending a
‘ Throne, which is as sacred to us as to
‘ yourself and the august Family whom
‘ we placed upon it eight hundred years
‘ ago. Be assured, Sire, be assured, that we
‘ have never caused your heart to feel a
‘ painful sensation which has not rent our
‘ own;

* *We all swear it*, was heard from every part of the Hall. A celebrated writer has said, and many persons have repeated after him, that this Speech, perhaps the most eloquent ever made by *M. de Lally*, was a long and pathetic paraphrase of the *Ecce homo*. It would have been more accurate to have said, that the words, “*Behold the King!*” were nearly a literal translation; but neither would this observation have been applicable, as there is no phrase the sense of which might not be entirely altered by mutilating it; and as it is not for four words taken from a speech of two pages long, that we can either criticise or applaud it. One thing is certain; that I have heard several persons, who were present

‘ own ; that in the midst of the public calamities we deem it a heavy one to afflict you even by a complaint, by which we mean to inform, to implore, but never to accuse you. Now, at length, all griefs will vanish, all troubles cease : a single word from your lips has tranquillised all. Our virtuous King has recalled his virtuous Counsellors. Perish the public enemies, who would again create dissension between the Nation and their Chief ! King ! Subjects ! Citizens ! let us join our hearts, our wishes, our efforts ; and let us display to the eyes of the whole world the sight of one of its finest Nations, free, happy, and triumphant, under a King just, beloved and revered, no longer indebted to force for any thing, but owing all to his virtues and his love.’

This Speech was interrupted at every passage expressive of the disposition of the people towards the King, by the accla-

sent at the time at the *Hotel-de-Ville*, speak with rapture of the lively and affecting emotion which was produced by *M. de Lally* throughout the Assembly in favour of the King. *Pilate's* speech was not attended with the same effect among the Jews.

mations

mations of the whole Assembly. The King, more and more affected, could scarcely articulate these words :—*My People may always depend upon my love.*

His Majesty then confirmed the appointment of *M. Bailly* to the Mayoralty, and of *M. de la Fayette* to the rank of Commander-in-Chief of the Parisian Militia.

This ceremony being over, the King showed himself at one of the balconies of the *Hotel-de-Ville* to gratify the wishes and extreme impatience of the immense crowd of people gathered in the *Place-de-Greve*, at all the windows, and even upon the roofs of the houses. The general cry of *Vive le Roi* then resounded from every quarter, and rapture was at its height, when the cockade of insurrection was perceived in his Majesty's hat. Whether it were considered as a token of approbation, or of pardon for all the crimes with which it was stained, the shouts of *Vive le Roi* were redoubled with still more violence; and the beating of the drums, and firing of the cannon, mixing with the acclamations, soon extended through the whole town the joy which broke out in so thundering a manner at the *Place-de-Grève*.

His

His Majesty's return presented a very different sight from that of his entering. Some of the Parisians, intoxicated with gratitude and love, were not satisfied with surrounding the King's carriage; they got up in crowds behind, on the box, on the foot-board, and even on the roof. Some shouts of *Long live the Nation and Liberty* were again heard; but those of *Long live our King, our Friend, our Father*, were a thousand times more frequent. The armed citizens clubbed their fire-locks in token of peace; the King smiled benignly at their transports, and with his own hand reversed the musket of a man who stood in the first line, and whose eyes were so intent upon the carriage, that he had taken no notice of the manner in which his comrades held their arms. This action of his Majesty's was followed by loud shouts of applause from the multitude.

At the barrier the King met the retinue that had attended him to Paris, and, entering Seves, saw his *Gardes-du-Corps* running down the hill, where they had been waiting his return, and where they resumed their usual attendance on his person. Several of them rode on before to announce the
King's

King's arrival to the Royal Family, who from the length of his Majesty's absence had experienced the most dreadful anxiety. The Queen particularly was in a state of grief and despair, of which it would be as difficult to describe the anguish as to paint the transports of joy which succeeded it when her Majesty heard the King's carriage drive into the *Cour-Royale*. She ran to meet him with the Dauphin in her arms, and threw herself breathless and almost lifeless into those of her august consort, who was not less moved. The scene that followed was perhaps still more affecting. What picture could be more interesting to sensible minds than that of the delightful moment in which *Louis XVI*, restored to his disconsolate family, and surrounded by the objects dearest to him, resigned one of his hands to the caresses of his children, and with the other wiped away the tears from the cheeks of the Queen and Madame Elizabeth*.

* The immortal name of this unfortunate Princess will ever awaken the remembrance of all the angelic virtues that were treasured in her heart, and perpetuate horror at the thoughts of those monsters who were so ferocious as to shed her pure blood.

while

while he assuaged their bitterness by mingling his own with them. His answers to their questions, and the details he related to them of his journey, at length restored to their agitated minds joy, and happiness, and hope.

CHAPTER XI.

Violent Insurrections at Poissy and St. Germain — Dangers and Humiliations experienced by some Members of the Assembly sent to calm the People—The Assembly save two Hussars whom the Populace of Versailles were going to hang—Insurrections in several Provinces—Motion for a Proclamation, by M. de Lally, opposed by Robespierre—M. de la Fayette removes the Apprehensions of the Assembly respecting the State of the Capital—M. Foulon and M. Berthier stopped by the People, and led away to the Hotel-de-Ville—Crimes of which they were accused—They are killed, and their Bodies torn to Pieces by the People—The Son of M. Berthier solicits the Interposition of the Assembly

*Assembly in favour of his Father in vain
—Horrible expression of the Deputy Barnave's—Character of M. Foulon, and of
M. Berthier.*

THE people in their effervescence may be made to go to any length, provided they are, or think that they are, led in the sense they annex to the idea, or rather to the word, which turns their brain; for there is no popular commotion, no insurrection, of which some word misunderstood is not the principle, and the rallying shout. *Liberty* has been that of the French Revolution. The people, who worshipped this word without knowing the real meaning of it, and who abhorred the word *Despotism* with as little knowledge of its signification, took up arms, and *rose in a mass**, to plant every where trees crowned with the cap of Liberty. They thought they should gain Liberty by rallying round tri-coloured standards on which that word was worked in large characters; yet they have hitherto struggled only to favour and consolidate the establishment of a most atrocious tyranny,

* This is a Revolutionary expression.

and all those trees of Liberty, still bearing its emblems, do but attest the imposture of its pretended apostles, and the stupid credulity of their proselytes.

What happiness would France have owed to the National Assembly, if at the epocha of the 16th and 17th of July, instead of abusing the confidence of *Louis XVI*, and the enthusiasm of the Parisians, by completing the annihilation of the Royal authority, that Assembly had had the wisdom to turn both to the advantage of real Liberty! Why did they not teach the people, that that political liberty of which so much was said to them, consisted essentially in the necessity of the consent of the Nation to the laws by which they were to be governed, to the taxes they were to pay, and in the personal responsibility of all the Agents of the Government; that that liberty, more real, more extensive, under a Monarchy so limited than under any other form of Government, had no greater enemies than licentiousness and anarchy? Why did they not establish these facts and these principles in their Proclamations, in their Addresses, and in the Speeches of their orators? The reason is plain:—The immediate consequence

must have been the restoring to the King the authority and power necessary for him to establish order, and secure the execution of the laws ; and that authority, that power, was precisely what the Assembly, or the factions that ruled it, meant completely to usurp. Accordingly, they hastened to call back, to what they termed *the sense of the Revolution*, the effervescence of Royalism which agitated the capital, and which would very soon have broken out all over the kingdom, where the enormities daily committed by *pretended patriots* had already inspired regret for the good old times when the *Marechaussée* prevented such excesses*. But that tutelary force was soon to be disbanded, either because it was under the King, or because it was the perpetual enemy of the brigands, who, being every where the necessary instruments or hired agents of the Re-

* The *Marechaussée*, so useful and so little expensive, for the whole body consisted, at the very utmost of 4000 men, sufficed to maintain order and tranquillity throughout France. They were succeeded by three millions of National Guards ; but so little have they supplied their place, that this Revolutionary Militia have been seen joining the brigands, and abetting crimes which they ought to have suppressed.

volution,

volution, could not fail to have powerful protectors in the Assembly. The indulgence and protection which were granted to all crimes, were cloaked under the mask of patriotism and of popularity: but History will tear this deceitful mask from all those who have borrowed it, and will completely expose their shame.

In the preceding chapters we have seen the annihilation of the Royal authority effected step by step. A very important epocha in the History of the Revolution now opens; that in which the National Assembly break at once all the springs of the Government, and spread every where disorder and destruction.

The Deputation that had accompanied the King to Paris, went on their return to the Assembly, who were still sitting, and gave an account of all that had passed at the *Hotel-de-Ville*, and on the road. The report was often interrupted by acclamations and the most rapturous applauses. Before the close, however, of this very Sitting, the Mayor of *Poissy*, being admitted to the bar, informed the Assembly of several crimes committed by armed men, in the towns of *Poissy* and *St. Germain*, under pretence of

supposed monopolies, of which a rich farmer in the neighbourhood, of the name of *Thomassin*, was accused; but upon its being observed, that this was an object to which the Legislative Power did not extend, that there was an Executive Power and Criminal Courts appointed to maintain public tranquillity, the demand of the Mayor of *Poissy*, praying that the National Assembly would suppress the disorders of which he complained, was not acceded to. This respect paid to the King's authority might have given an idea that it was still existing; but the Assembly did not long allow this error to remain. The very next day, at the opening of the Sitting, the debate on the commotions of *Poissy* was resumed. *Thomassin's* life was declared to be in the most imminent danger; and it was said that the bourgeois militia were going to hang him. It was then moved, not to have recourse to the King's authority, but to send a Deputation to *Poissy* to procure a pardon for the unfortunate *Thomassin*. This motion was adopted, and twelve members of the Assembly being named for a Deputation, immediately set off for *Poissy* and *St. Germain*.

At the same time the Deputies of *Dauphiné*

phiné informed the Assembly of a general insurrection which the news of Mr. *Necker's* dismissal had excited in their province:—"All the inhabitants," said they, "are taking up arms to defend their liberty and that of their Representatives." A member of the Nobility coming in at that moment interrupted the narrative of these gentlemen, to say that the bourgeois militia of Versailles had just seized two hussars at the door of the Hall, who were suspected of being spies, or of having some ill designs, and that they were talking of hanging them. On hearing this, several Deputies rushed towards the door, and ran to the assistance of the poor hussars, whose only crime was having had the curiosity, as they were passing, to see a Sitting of the Representatives of the Nation. Fortunately, the mob agreed to deliver them up to the Deputies, who conducted them into one of the Halls, where they remained till they could leave it without danger.

These acts of violence, committed almost under the eyes of the King and of the National Assembly, must naturally have created apprehensions of their soon becoming more frequent and more serious, at a distance farther removed from means of suppression.

On these grounds several Deputies proposed that the Assembly should proceed, before they attended to any thing else, to consider of the properest measures to re-establish and maintain public tranquillity. Some were for employing the Marechaussée for that purpose; others thought the assistance of the troops absolutely necessary, and that they ought to be distributed in the towns and country places. These motions experienced the strongest opposition. “To recall the
“troops now,” said *Volney* the Deputy,
“is to recall alarm; we ought to employ
“*our own forces*, and interest the people in
“their preservation.”

The institution of bourgeois militia extended to every Municipality, and, under their direction, was considered by the majority of the Assembly as the properest means to prevent all excesses. This was seeking a remedy for the evil in the chief cause of it. It is not the only mistake of this kind that the Assembly have made, and not always blindly. However, they debated for some time on these different motions, without adopting any of them; nor was the subject even mentioned in the following Sitting, which was almost entirely spent in reading
Addresses

Addresses of attachment, admiration, respect, and gratitude, from the different towns and communes *, and in attending to

* These Addresses, drawn up at Versailles by the *Breton* Club, were sent to trusty agents in all the provinces, with directions to return them with as many signatures as they could procure ; but great care was taken to conceal all the Counter-Addresses. They were collected by the Viscount *de Mirabeau*, who was at that time Secretary to the Assembly, and who continued in that office six weeks. He intended to have published a comparative statement of the Addresses, and to have proved, by an exact calculation of the signatures, that the number of those who were discontented, and complained of the Assembly, was much greater than that of their supporters. But the public bickerings which the Viscount *de Mirabeau* had with some of the leading men among the factious, and his bitter sarcasms against the Revolution and its authors, exposing him every day to the danger of having his house plundered by the populace, he deposited all his papers, and among them the collection of those Addresses, in the hands of the President *de Frondeville* ; who made an estimate of them himself, which he compared with the statement that the Viscount *de Mirabeau* had caused to be made, at a great expence, by a clerk of the Archives, of all the signatures to the Addresses which were read to the Assembly ; and *M. de Frondeville* has assured me, that at that period the number of the complainants amounted to a fifth more than that of the supporters of the Assembly. By the time this business was completed, the rapid progress of the Revolution rendered it useless, and prevented the publication of it.

the report of the Deputation sent to Poissy. *Thomassin* was saved, that is to say, by being sent to prison, for prisons had already become the only asylums left to innocence against the fury of Liberty. It was not without trouble and danger that the Deputation obtained for that honest farmer the signal favour of being tried before he was hanged; he had been dragged from his prison, in spite of the pathetic exhortations of the Bishop of *Chartres*, who was the Speaker of the Deputation; and the crowd were only waiting for a confessor and the gallows, which had been sent for. In that interval *Thomassin*, the Bishop of *Chartres*, and his colleagues, threw themselves on their knees in the midst of those furies, and at length obtained consent, by dint of supplications and tears, that he should be delivered over to justice. The mob allowed him to depart with the Deputies, whom at the same time they threatened to hang, if he were spared. It was feared at first, that the people would fire into the Bishop of *Chartres*'s carriage, in which *Thomassin* was. Some of the inhabitants of Poissy accompanied the Deputation, and conducted them by cross-roads, in order to avoid St. Germain. On their way

way they met several mobs of women who would have stoned them to death, and from whom they could not have escaped had they not been guarded. At length, after a very slow, painful, and alarming journey, they arrived at Versailles, and lodged *Thomassin* in prison.

The Assembly, on hearing these facts related, lavished the highest praises on the courage, the wisdom, and the patriotism of the Deputation, and particularly on the conduct of the Bishop of *Chartres*; a motion was made, and unanimously passed, to decree him a civic crown. No doubt he had saved *Thomassin's* life; but at what price? By subjecting the National Representation to the most shameful humiliation, by prostrating it at the feet of a vile rabble, which fifty dragoons or a few divisions of the *Marechaussée* would have put to flight, had the King still retained his authority. But that was overturned, and in its fall had precipitated into the hands of the populace; for such, in the revolution of Empires, is ever the first effect of displacing the supreme power, which must have force, and force is found in number. So a rock torn by some violent concussion from the summit of a lofty

lofty mountain falls with rapidity, nor stops till it can fall no lower.

In the Sitting of the 20th of July *M. de Lally* gave notice of new insurrections in Normandy, Burgundy, and at Pontoise; and he moved that a Proclamation be issued, in which “all Frenchmen should be invited to
“peace, to the love of order, to respect for
“the laws, to fidelity to the King, and to
“an entire confidence *in the perfect har-*
“*mony* which subsisted between the Head
“and the Representatives of the Nation.”

This Proclamation was to authorize the Municipalities to raise bourgeois militia, and to recommend it to them to admit only such citizens as were incapable of acting prejudicially to the Country, and capable of defending it. It was further to declare, that every man suspected, accused, and arrested, should be delivered up to justice.

This project for a Proclamation was supported by some of the members of the Assembly, and opposed by others. “We
“may love peace,” said *Robespierre*, “but
“we ought also to love liberty: and such
“a Proclamation may give uneasiness to
“those who have defended liberty; it may
“spread alarm, and shake confidence.”

M. de

M. de Lally's answer to all the objections urged against his motion produced a long debate, during which the President received a letter from *M. de la Fayette*, in which he gave an account of all the measures he had taken to secure the tranquillity of the capital. This letter dispelled the uneasiness of the Assembly, and silenced those who were for immediately adopting *M. de Lally's* Proclamation; and it was thought better to submit it to the examination of the Committees before any resolution was taken upon it.

M. de la Fayette's measures were perhaps extremely judicious, probably very patriotic, but certainly very inadequate, and their inefficacy soon appeared.

M. Foulon, who had been appointed Director of the War Department under Marshal *Broglie*, had disappeared at the time of the retreat of the new Ministers. A report of his death had been spread; and the extraordinary pomp with which one of his servants was buried at that period gave grounds for the report. Unhappily for him it was discovered that he had retired to Viry, an estate belonging to his friend *M. de Sartine*, near Paris. The caution he took to conceal himself excited suspicions, and soon became

became the talk of the village. The men on one of his estates not far from Viry hearing of it, went and demanded a guard of the Parisians to arrest and carry him to Paris. A great number of them arrived at Viry on the 22d of July, at four o'clock in the morning, and found *M. Foulon* already up and walking alone in the park : they rushed furiously upon him ; and after they had treated him with every sort of insult and indignity, they dressed him with a collar of nettles, a bunch of thistles for a nosegay, and a bundle of hay upon his back, as a punishment *for having wished to make the people eat hay ;* or for having said that hay was good enough for the people to eat ;—such being the ridiculous crimes of which he was accused. In that state was he conducted to the *Hotel-de-Ville* in Paris, and delivered over to a Committee, who, after a long examination, were for sending him to prison, and ordering his trial. But a multitude of people already collected on the *Place-de-Grève* were calling out vociferously for his execution. It was certain that he would be massacred if he left the *Hotel-de-Ville* before the populace, who were watching for him at every gate, were dispersed ; so that the first thing to have been
been

been done, had the Committee been inclined, or had they dared to save him, was to have cleared the square; and if this measure had not been forgotten in *M. de la Fayette's grand plan* for the re-establishment of public tranquillity, it might have been executed without violence, and even with all the attentions, with all the politeness that might have been required by the *Nation*; for so every mob, great or small, now entitled themselves. The purpose would have been answered if the Commander-General of the bourgeois militia had sent into all the Districts, and issued orders for the respective battalions to march at noon to the *Place-de-Grève* in order to be reviewed: as they came on, the crowd, forced to separate to make way for them, would have been gradually thrown back on the adjoining streets, and would have soon dispersed. There would then have been no danger in conveying *M. Foulon* from the *Hotel-de-Ville* to prison. But the Committee imagined that by gaining time the fury of the people would spend itself, and that at the hour of dinner the crowd would disperse of their own accord. With this hope *M. Foulon* was detained at the *Hotel-de-Ville* all the morning and part of the afternoon.

noon. From time to time the Mayor and some Members of the Committee endeavoured to prevail on the people to listen to the voice of justice, reason, and humanity. “*M. Foulon*,” said they, “may be guilty, but he ought not to be condemned without being heard. He was connected with the new Ministry, and no doubt one of the heads of the conspiracy: information of the greatest importance respecting that abominable plot may be obtained from him, and it is of the greatest consequence to preserve a man who may give a clue to the whole; for the salvation of the country may depend upon it.”

These reasons made an impression upon the small number of persons who were within hearing; but the blood-thirsty multitude grew exasperated at the delay in the deliberations of the Committee, set up at intervals the most frightful howlings, and insisted upon having their victim. The more furious, not able to command their impatience, rushed in a body upon the guard, forced the doors of the *Hotel-de-Ville*, and making up to *M. Foulon* seized him in the Hall where the Committee were sitting. At this horrible moment there was but one way

way left of saving this unfortunate old man, and that *M. de la Fayette* employed with much address. “Citizens,” he cried, “I cannot blame your rage and indignation against this man; I never esteemed him, and have always considered him as a great villain. Do you wish he should be punished? We wish it too, and punished he shall be. But he has accomplices, and it is necessary we should know them. I shall order him to be carried to the *Abbaye St. Germain*; instructions shall be given for his trial, and he shall be condemned according to law to the infamous death he has but too well merited.”

This speech satisfied them all, and was greatly applauded. It would have had all the success intended by *M. de la Fayette*, had not *M. Foulon*, wild with joy at finding himself saved, had the imprudence to clap his hands with the rest. *They are conniving, they want to save him*, became immediately the cry of the multitude, who resolving to hear no more, laid hold of *M. Foulon*, and in a moment dragged him to the foot of the fatal lantern; nor could *M. de la Fayette*, now himself suspected, make the slightest opposition to it. At this frightful instant

instant his courage and his understanding entirely forsook him. He was ordered to fall on his knees, to beg pardon of God, the Nation, and the King. One of the mob gave him his hand to kiss. He submitted without resistance to all these humiliations, and to all the abuse with which they were accompanied. He never ceased begging pardon of the people, and supplicating them to spare his life; but the grossest insults, and the ferocious cry of *To the lantern, to the lantern*, were the only answers his prayers obtained. At last the fatal rope is fixed, he is drawn up:—the rope breaks, he falls on his knees, and implores the compassion of the people; again the rope is tied, and again it breaks. Soldiers offer their arms to put an end to his torture; but his executioners prolong it by choice, and wait for a new rope. At length it is brought, and terminates the most dreadful and shocking execution. Scarcely is he dead, when his murderers dispute for his body and pieces of his clothes; they stuff hay into his mouth, carry his head about on the end of a pike, and drag his body, naked, bruised, and mutilated, through the dirt.

At

At this time it was heard that *M. Berthier*, who had been arrested at Compiègne, was on the way near town, escorted by one of the Electors of Paris and 400 National troopers who had been sent for him. He was accused of being one of the principal agents of the pretended conspiracy of the Ministers, because, as Intendant of the Generality of Paris, he had filled the offices of Comptroller of the Army, and of the different military corps cantoned in the environs of the Capital under the command of Marshal *Broglie*. He was taxed with interfering to supply them with provisions, ammunition, and the like: he was besides known to be the son-in-law of *M. Foulon*, which at that horrible crisis was of itself a crime sufficient to devote him to the rage of the monsters who had just been sacrificing his father-in-law.

Through all the villages on the road between Paris and Compiègne, *M. Berthier*, though grossly insulted and threatened by the populace, never lost the least of his composure. The Elector who accompanied him, and with whom he conversed throughout the journey with the greatest tranquillity, was surprised at his courage, and felt esteem and

respect for him. The lively interest which he soon felt for the situation of that magistrate, made him sensible how odious a commission he was executing, and his regret for having undertaken it was alleviated only by the hope, that it would put it in his power to be of important service to him in the Committee*. He little knew what was then passing at Paris. Scarcely had the chaise in which he was conveying his prisoner arrived at the barrier, when the populace stopped it and took the top of it off, that all who were not sufficiently near to the carriage to take an active part in the outrages with which the Intendant was to be overwhelmed, might at least have the satisfaction of feasting their eyes with the atrocious sight. Five or six hundred horsemen with swords drawn, and soldiers of different corps marching with their drums and colours, served as a guard for the carriage: in the

* The name of this Elector was *La Riviere*, and it was from himself I received these particulars. I had an opportunity of knowing him in 1792, as he was at that time a Justice of the Peace, and the person who, on the complaints lodged by *M. de Montmorin* and myself, ordered the proceedings relative to the pretended Austrian Committee.

crowd that furrounded it were persons crowned with laurel, and women singing and dancing to military music. This singing was frequently interrupted by the most sanguinary vociferations, and by the speeches of the honest Elector addressed to those furies, to moderate their rage and save the life of his prisoner, whom he was afraid of seeing massacred at his side. *M. Berthier*, supported by that extraordinary energy which results from a conscience void of offence, surveyed all this tumult without appearing uneasy at it: but when *M. Foulon's* head was thrust before him on the end of a pike, his soul was frozen with horror. The monsters that carried it wanted to force him to kiss it; but the Elector, shocked at this excess of barbarity, was fortunate enough to succeed in preventing it.

M. Berthier, being at length arrived at the *Hotel-de-Ville*, was conducted to the Committee, by whom he was examined on his conduct, on the projects of the Ministers, on the plan of the pretended conspiracy, and so forth. He replied with confidence, “ I have done nothing but by superior
 “ orders, which it was my duty to obey:
 “ you will find them in my portfolio; you
 C c 2 “ have

“ have my correspondence, all my papers ;
“ you know as much as I do. I beg you will
“ observe that I am so overcome with fa-
“ tigue and the want of sleep, not having
“ closed my eyes for two days, that it is
“ impossible for me to answer you more
“ circumstantially at present. I request to
“ be shown to some place where I may
“ take a little rest.”

While they were debating this request, the *Hotel-de-Ville* and the *Place-de-Grève* resounded with the most violent clamours. The Committee, alarmed at those shouts of death, and fearing lest the people should force in and carry off *M. Berthier* from them, decided upon sending him to the *Abbaye*. But in what manner was he to be extricated from the dangers of crossing a furious mob, over whom the soldiers had no power ; or rather, in favour of whom they were inclined to exert what power they had ? He was put under a strong guard, while *M. Bailly* and *M. de la Fayette*, on different sides, harangued, supplicated, and conjured those who would listen to them ; but their speeches and prayers were answered only by the most horrid imprecations. No sooner was *M. Berthier* perceived on the
steps

steps of the Hotel, than a crowd of assassins sprang upon him, and dragged him to the same *lantern* where *M. Foulon* had been hanged. He saw the rope ready to be the instrument of the same fate upon himself. Transported with rage at the sight, he suddenly wrenches from a soldier the first musket he can lay his hand upon, and with repeated blows attacks the crowd of tigers pressing round him, but in an instant falls himself beneath a number of bayonets. He was at least indebted to his courage for a death less lingering and less ignominious than that of his father-in-law. One of his assassins perceiving that he still breathed, had the unparalleled barbarity to plunge his hand into the widest of his wounds, in order to grope to his heart, which he tore out, and, carrying it in triumph, laid it palpitating upon the table of the Committee of Electors. No doubt it was to those Ministers of the Sovereignty of the People that the first fruits of the tree of Liberty were due.

The Committee, stupefied with horror at the sight of this horrible trophy, had not even the thought to cause the execrable monster who offered it them to be arrested. They allowed him without a word to take

up the heart again, to fix it to the point of his sword, and parade it through the streets behind the heads of *M. Foulon* and *M. Berthier*. There was but one thing more wanting to the ferocity of those cannibals, and this they completed in the evening by giving the people a sight of the most abominable feasting.

During the execution of *M. Foulon*, *M. Berthier*'s son, dreading that the same fate would befall his father who was on his way to Paris, hastened to Versailles to implore the interposition of the Assembly in his favour. On his arrival, the first thing he did was to throw himself into the arms of *M. de Lally*, and bursting into tears, he said to him: "Your filial piety and eloquence
" saved the honour of your father; I con-
" jure you, Sir, to save the life of mine."
M. de Lally flew immediately to the Assembly, and pleaded this interesting cause with all the energy and sensibility natural to him. The majority of the Assembly were extremely affected; but as they could take no measure which would not be ineffectual, or prove too late, they contented themselves with hoping that this new crime would not be committed. It was on this occasion that
a young

a young Deputy from Dauphiné (*Barnave*), who doubtless had never known his father, suffered the following shocking expression to escape him, which only a *Robespierre* could have heard without shuddering: *Is the blood that is spilt then so pure?*

The crimes with which *M. Foulon* was charged, were all as imaginary as the pretended conspiracy attributed to the new Ministers. The trivial expression of, *Those people are brutes fit to eat hay*, was perhaps too frequently in his mouth; but it was certainly nothing more than an expletive, and far from being accompanied with the absurd idea of reducing the people to eat nothing but hay. *M. Foulon's* only fault, or, to speak more properly, his greatest misfortune, was a constant ambition to be in the Ministry, without talents necessary to fill the important offices of it in times so difficult. He was a man of the most ordinary abilities I ever knew; mediocrity may be allowed to be a defect, but certainly it is not a fault, and much less a crime.

The ambition which was the ruin of *M. Foulon*, would have been better placed in his son-in-law. *M. Berthier* was one of

the most distinguished among the worthy Intendants of the Kingdom for his merit, his talents, and his knowledge in administration; and in spite of the atrocious calumnies that have been cast upon him, it is evident that the affairs of Paris were never better conducted, or directed by a more able, zealous, or benevolent Magistrate. As I was not connected with him, the respect I now pay his memory is dictated alone by justice and truth.

CHAPTER XII.

Character of the Parisians—Proclamation of the Assembly—General arming of the Populace urged by the Factious—Consequences—First atrocious Attempts against the Nobility in Franche-Comté—The Circumstances that gave rise to them—Inconsistency of the Conduct of the Assembly—Country-seats burnt and pillaged throughout the Kingdom—Long Debates occasioned by Letters found upon the Baron de Castelnau—An admirable Speech from Mirabeau—A Letter from Mr. Necker announcing his Return—The Abbé Maury arrested at Peronne—A Letter from the Municipality of that Town to the

*the Assembly—List of Proscriptions—
Violent State of the Provinces nearest
the Capital—M. de Cazales arrested.*

IT is remarkable in the character of the Parisians, that from the outset of the Revolution, they had fallen into a habit of postponing till the next day the manifestation of their horror at the crimes they suffered to be committed. That which they felt at the murder of *M. Foulon* and *M. Berthier* did not break forth till the day following, and then spent itself in vain imprecations against their murderers. This tardy and passive indignation, or rather this constant timidity of the good, has for nine years past exposed their lives and fortunes to the mercy of a horde of ruffians, on whom the Revolution has bestowed the exclusive privilege of pillaging and assassinating as long as there shall be property and proprietors.

What a dreadful day was that for *M. de la Fayette* on which, though Commander General of the whole armed force of the Capital, having forty thousand of the bourgeois militia under him, he nevertheless saw himself reduced to be the mere passive spectator, and in some sort the President, of the
most

most savage scenes of the Revolution! Desperate, and humbled at his want of power, he would have given in his resignation, but the oaths of obedience taken by the battalions, and *M. Bailly's* entreaties, prevailed upon him to continue his command.

The Assembly, who had for some days wasted a great deal of time in discussing and modifying *M. de Lally's* scheme of a Proclamation for re-establishing public tranquillity, resolved at last to adopt it with amendments; but confusion and disorder were now spread through every part of the Kingdom. The reports raised at once in all the provinces of a grand conspiracy against Liberty, and of the approach of pretended bands of brigands, who were cutting down and burning the harvests, had served as a pretext for a general arming of the populace. Large detachments formed under the name of *Citizen Soldiers*, to distinguish them from the troops of the line, now first called *Soldier Citizens*, were incessantly running over the country to disperse those formidable brigands who were no where to be found; and in a very short time the *Citizen Soldiers* went in quest of them among farms, and in particular among the country-seats of the Nobility
and

and Gentry. None were exempt from those patriotic visits, another pretext for which was the search for arms, and of which the plundering of the cellars and of every kind of provisions was the least inconvenience. Murder and fire were frequently the consequences of them; and those crimes were always justified, or at least palliated, by the proscribing suspicion of *aristocracy*, *incivism*, *conspiracy*, and the like. Complaints and denunciations without number daily informed the Assembly of all those enormities; but they saw no other remedy for them than the new Constitution upon which they were going to work: and in the mean time, full of confidence in the flattering Addresses which they received from some Municipalities, they consoled themselves for all private misfortunes by contemplating the general happiness, which already was, or which they thought was, the fruit of their labours.

The most serious outrages against the Nobility first broke out and were most frequent in Franche-Comté. They began from a circumstance as innocent as it was fatal.—*M. de Memmay*, a magistrate of the Parliament of Besançon, had given an entertain-
ment

ment at his seat at Quincey to the inhabitants and to the garrison of Vesoul, in honour *of the happy union between the King and the National Assembly*. He had announced that all who chose to visit his seat on Sunday the 19th of July should find fiddles and refreshments; and that, lest his presence as a magistrate might prove a restraint to the gaiety of the feast, he should not remain at home himself. This invitation drew a great number of the citizens of Vesoul and some of the soldiers of the garrison to Quincey-house. While they were amusing themselves, a barrel of gunpowder in an out-house blew up, by which several persons were wounded, and some, but very few, killed. Without a moment's consideration it was believed, and every where rumoured, that it had been *M. de Memmay's* intention to blow up the inhabitants and garrison of Vesoul at once; that such was the design of the feast to which he had invited them; and that to execute this infernal plot he had prepared a mine under the place where they were to assemble, which he had sprung, or ordered to be sprung, by means of a long train.

The officer of the Marechaussée at Vesoul

made a minute of this story in his journal, without having scrutinized the fact, and that minute was read to the National Assembly by one of the Deputies for Franche-Comté:— he added to it some circumstances of the excesses committed, and that were continued by the exasperated people. “ The whole
“ country was in commotion; the people
“ had armed themselves with all kinds of
“ weapons; they had attacked the neighbouring seats, were burning and plundering the archives of the Nobility, forcing them to renounce their rights; they had demolished several country houses, set a Cistercian Abbey on fire, &c.”

It is not wonderful that the people, hearing of nothing but the conspiracies of the Aristocrats, and unacquainted with the cause of the event at Quincey, should accuse *M. de Memmay* of it, although it did not appear that he had any motive for animosity against the inhabitants of Vesoul. He was a gentleman, and a member of the Parliament; which was more than enough to prove his crime, and to authorise, in the sight of a furious mob, the most violent acts of vengeance against him and against the two classes of Aristocrats to which he belonged. But
should

should the Representatives of the Nation have been infected with this delirium? Should they, upon a vague minute destitute of proof, and by which too it appeared that *M. Memmay* was absent, have presumed that magistrate guilty of a crime which they had no rational grounds, no probability for imputing to him? A simple accident might have been, and in fact was, the cause of the melancholy event that happened at Quincy*. Why not admit a presumption so natural? Are we at liberty to reject presumptions that are in favour of innocence? The Assembly, far from attending to these, charged their President to wait upon the King, to obtain of his Majesty an order directing all the Ministers residing at foreign

* It was proved judicially, that at the period when the feast was given by *M. Memmay* to the inhabitants of Vesoul, he was setting vines in a stony soil, where he was often obliged to blow up the greater rocks. Some soldiers running through, and ferreting every where in the house and out-houses, unfortunately took a candle to the dark corner where the barrel of gunpowder was lodged, and set it on fire, in trying to see if it contained wine. These facts, reported and attested in a Memorial drawn up by *M. Courvoisier*, so completely justified *M. de Memmay*, that the Assembly could not avoid testifying his innocence by a Decree issued the 4th of June.

Courts

Courts to cause a strict search to be made for the criminal, and to apply for his being taken up; and also to apply to him to authorise the judge of the place, where the crime had been committed, to enter a prosecution against the author of so execrable an action, to bring him to trial, and pass sentence upon him without appeal. It is to be observed, that as a member of the Parliament, he could be tried only by the Courts of the Parliament of Besançon.

The extreme rigour displayed against *M. de Memmay*, by that very Assembly who a few days before had suffered the Governor of the Bastille, the *Prevôt des Marchands* *M. Foulon*, and his son-in-law, to be massacred almost under their eyes, without giving any direction whatever for a prosecution against the criminals, seemed to have no other view than that of enraging the people more and more against the Nobility and against the Magistracy; it was almost telling them in plain terms that there was nothing they might not attempt with impunity against the *Aristocrats*, for whom alone the Assembly reserved their severity. “ We must not allow ourselves to be too much alarmed at the storms inseparable from the commo-
“ tions

“ tions of a Revolution,” said *Barnave*, in the Sitting of the 23d of July which was the day after the massacre of *Foulon* and *Berthier*, “ the principal object is to form “ the Constitution and to secure Liberty. “ We may afterwards attend to securing legal punishments for State crimes—(*pre-* “ *tended conspiracies*)—then the People will “ be pacified, and return of themselves to “ order.” This language the People but too well understood, and they have in consequence committed crimes without number; but the blame is to be imputed less to them than to those by whom they have been misled.

*The full account of the dreadful conspiracy at Quincey**, which was dispersed throughout the Kingdom, containing the most atrocious exaggerations, imprecations, and cries for vengeance against the Nobility, became in a manner the manifesto of the war then declared against all country-seats throughout the provinces. The example of the inhabitants of Vesoul was every

* These words were every day roared through the streets of Paris by the hawkers of the Revolutionary Journals.

where followed with more or less fury, but ever with the same impunity. The assassination of gentlemen, the carrying off of their title-deeds, and the pillage and demolition of their seats, were no longer considered in any other light than as acts of eager patriotism. In those Communes where the old custom of loving and obeying the King still prevailed over the new-fangled patriotism, forged orders with the King's name were shown to the inhabitants, in which were injunctions to commit every manner of crime; and when they were accused before the Assembly, there were speakers so stupid, or so lost to shame, as to maintain that the Noblemen themselves set fire to their houses to have an opportunity to calumniate the People. This charge was chiefly directed against those whom the certainty of being murdered had reduced to the necessity of flying their country. Hence arose that sanguinary jurisprudence which makes all Emigrants without distinction traitors to their Country, and condemns them to death as a punishment for having had recourse to the only means left of saving their lives.

The Factious knew very well that the People

ple are like those ponderous masses which it is always more difficult to set in motion, than to direct to a proposed end when once they are stirred; and they neglected no means to keep their minds in a state of continual agitation and alarm. Their speakers in the Assembly, their incendiaries at the *Palais-Royal*, and their trusty journalists, had every day some fresh conspiracy to announce. A packet taken on the night between the 22d and 23d of July upon the Baron *de Castelnau**, and the fragments of a letter which he had torn at the moment of his being arrested, furnished matter for most violent declamation in the Sitting of the 25th. The packet, containing three letters that had been opened, and one that was sealed, directed to the Count *d'Artois*, had been delivered the day before by a member of the Commune of Paris, from the Permanent Committee to the President of the Assembly, (the Duke *de Liancourt*) who, thinking himself bound to respect private correspondence as sacred, would not read any of them, but returned them all to the Permanent Committee. The first sensation felt by the As-

* The French Minister at Geneva.

sembly led them to applaud the President's delicacy, and the purity of its principle ; but soon after, some Deputies started the question, whether, in the dreadful situation of affairs at that time, the Assembly were not entitled to open letters that might throw great light upon the conspiracies against public liberty. "In time of war," it was said, "the opening of all letters is permitted ; we may consider ourselves, and really are, in a state of war ; and are therefore authorised to intercept and break open all letters coming from suspected countries or persons, and all those who take flight should be looked upon as such ; therefore, the letters in question, and all that have been intercepted since the commotions in Paris or the provinces, ought to be deposited in a safe place, to be laid before the National Assembly when they think proper." The Bishop of *Langres* (*La Luzerne*) proposed, on the contrary, to follow the example of *Pompey* the Great, who after a violent fermentation in his country, and a civil war, had the generosity and greatness of soul to burn all letters which might keep alive the remembrance of the woeful events and misfortunes of the country.

try. This debate proceeding to great length, and growing warmer and warmer, *Mirabeau* rose, and, with that imperious and passionate tone which characterised his style of eloquence, silenced all opposition by the following Speech :

“ Is it the part of a People desirous of
 “ becoming free, to borrow their maxims
 “ and examples from tyranny ? Is it proper
 “ for them to give a stab to morality, after
 “ having been so long the victims of those
 “ who violated it ? Let those vulgar poli-
 “ ticians, who exalt above justice what in
 “ their narrow conceptions they dare to call
 “ *public utility* ; let those politicians at
 “ least tell us what interest can palliate such
 “ a violation of National honour. What
 “ shall we learn by the shameful inquisition
 “ of letters ? Paltry and filthy intrigues,
 “ scandalous anecdotes, and contemptible
 “ frivolity. Is it imagined that plots are
 “ circulating by the post ? Is it imagined
 “ that new politics of any importance pass
 “ through that channel ? Is there any em-
 “ bassy of consequence, any negotiation of an
 “ extraordinary nature, that is not carried on
 “ in a direct correspondence, and which does
 “ not defy the prying of the Post-office ?

“ Without any manner of use, then, should
“ we violate the secrets of families, the in-
“ tercourse of the absent, the intimacies of
“ friendship, and the confidence between
“ man and man. So criminal a procedure
“ would not even have an excuse; and it
“ would be said of us throughout Europe,
“ *that in France, under pretence of pub-*
“ *lic safety, they deprive the inhabitants*
“ *of all right to letters which are the pro-*
“ *ductions of the heart, and the treasure*
“ *of confidence. This last refuge of Li-*
“ *berty has been violated even by those*
“ *whom the Nation deputed to secure its*
“ *rights. They have left a precedent by*
“ *which the most secret communications of*
“ *the soul, the merest chance conjecture of*
“ *the mind, the emotions of anger often*
“ *misplaced, errors often corrected the next*
“ *moment, may be turned into depositions*
“ *against third persons; by which the citi-*
“ *zen, the friend, the son, the father, may*
“ *thus become the accusers of each other,*
“ *without knowing it; by which they*
“ *may be the means of destruction to each*
“ *other; for the National Assembly have*
“ *declared, that they will take as the*
“ *grounds of their decisions, ambiguous*
“ and

“ *and intercepted communications, which they cannot obtain but by a crime.*”

This speech determined the Assembly to pass to the order of the day. The subject, however, was resumed in the next Sitting. *Robespierre* maintained that the Assembly had no right to refuse papers denounced by the public opinion, sent by the Mayor of the Capital as of essential importance, and necessary to the discovery of the most fatal conspiracy that ever existed. This opinion was warmly supported by some, and opposed by others; but the reasons on which the Assembly had rejected it having lost nothing of their force, it was again resolved, *that there was no room to deliberate.*

The arrival of a letter from Mr. *Necker* announcing his return, dissipated for a moment the discordant ideas and gloomy passions which agitated the Assembly; *the great man, the virtuous man, the guardian-angel of France, of Liberty*, and above all of the Revolution, *was coming to resume the helm of affairs*, and every heart must expand with confidence and happiness. The reading of this letter * was interrupted at

* See Appendix, No. iii.

every sentence by the loudest applauses. Another letter was then read from the Municipal Officers of Peronne, in which they informed the Assembly of their having arrested the Abbé Maury, who, they said, under pretence of going to obtain new powers from his constituents meant to take a different road from that which led back to the National Assembly. This circumstance had determined the Municipality and bourgeois guard to secure his person till the Assembly should make their pleasure known.

The security with which the populace committed crimes, the rapidity with which those followed one upon another, and the lists of proscription delivered by the *sovereign people* of the *Palais-Royal* to the numerous executioners, were enough to alarm all honest men whose names were inscribed on those fatal lists, and in which the proscribers had not failed to insert the Deputies who showed the greatest attachment to the King and to the Monarchy ; and of those none more merited that honourable character than the Abbé Maury. The uncommon talents, zeal, and courage with which he constantly defended the cause of Religion and the Throne, in that Assembly, have cast so much glory on

on his name, and given so great an interest to his whole conduct, that the particulars of his arrest at Peronne cannot be indifferent. They are related with equal accuracy and spirit in the following letter; where we shall also find a very exact picture of the state in which the provinces nearest to the Capital were at that time: a state that soon became general throughout France.

* *Peronne, July 28, 1789.*

“ The inhabitants of Picardy are good kind of people, but they are precise; and the sooner to attain perfection they are forming themselves in every respect upon the model of the Parisians. They have assemblies, cockades, arms, and *good intentions*; they are playing, as at Paris, a game where every move is *check to the King*; they have burnt the custom-houses, thrown the officers into the river, intercepted the public revenue, set the malefactors at liberty, imprisoned the magistrates, and all this they say is nothing, unless they get the Archbishop of *Cambray* into their hands. Peronne stands

* This letter was written by *M. de Rivarol*.

nearly

nearly foremost in resemblance to the Capital. We arrived here early this morning, and found the Abbé *Maury* (who on Sunday the 26th had entered the town in disguise, and had been discovered from making known his intention to take a cross-road) surrounded by some National militia of Peronne, at a guard-house behind the *Hotel-de-Ville*. We asked how he had been taken, what sort of excuse the Abbé alleged, and what they meant to do with him in Picardy? A thousand mouths opened upon us at once, and we should not yet have understood a single word of all that was prattled by so many Peronne citizens of both sexes, if we had not called to order, and requested a Prebendary, with a cockade, opposite to us, to speak alone, and in French, if it were not inconvenient. ‘Gentlemen,’ cried he, ‘the
‘ man whom the *Country* has thought it
‘ right to arrest here, and whom we are go-
‘ ing to send back to the *Nation* at the *Ho-
‘ tel-de-Ville* in Paris, has justly incurred
‘ this laying of the hands upon him. It
‘ was his intention to go abroad by stealth,
‘ he had no band or cockade, and spoke for
‘ a cross road, which did not seem a right
‘ one

‘ one to our militia people, who upon that
‘ brought him to us. We found him out to
‘ be the Abbé *Maury*, from the description
‘ that was some time ago sent to us, and
‘ which was very exact. Upon this we said
‘ to him: *You are the Abbé Maury, and*
‘ *we shall send you back to the Hotel-de-*
‘ *Ville in Paris.*’ To which the Abbé re-
plied: ‘ Since neither disguise nor fear has
‘ made any alteration in the countenance
‘ which Heaven has given me, I will not
‘ deny, although almost every other man
‘ would in my place, that I am the Abbé
‘ *Maury*. To have acknowledged it be-
‘ fore would have been candid, and now it
‘ is bold. Here I am your prisoner; and if
‘ you send me to Paris, surrounded by pa-
‘ triotic bayonets, I do not doubt but that
‘ the mob will treat me nearly as they did
‘ *M. Foulon* and *M. Berthier*; but I am
‘ not very ambitious of swelling the mar-
‘ tyrology of the Aristocrats, and I beg you,
‘ Gentlemen, to dispatch a messenger, at my
‘ expence, to the National Assembly. I be-
‘ lieve that some among them will use their
‘ earnest endeavours to prevent my being
‘ made an example. Picardy heads will very
‘ easily comprehend this; but now that I
‘ am

‘ am in your hands, Gentlemen, present me,
‘ I pray you, to the Commander of the mili-
‘ tia, the Mayor of the town, and, in short, to
‘ all the Gentlmen of your Permanent Com-
‘ mittee.’—Nothing more just; and accord-
ingly we immediately carried him and esta-
blished him in our *Hotel-de-Ville*, where,
waiting the answer from the National Af-
sembly, he lives among our Gentlemen, and
makes himself all things to all men.

“ Charmed with so many details, we de-
sired the good Prebendary to add to our obli-
gations, by procuring us the means of see-
ing the Abbé for a moment among the Per-
manent Committee of Peronne: this he rea-
dily did.

“ Judge whether the Abbé *Maury* was
pleased to see us or not. Though he ex-
pected agreeable news from the National
Assembly, he was not without some uneasi-
ness. The first thing he did was to present
us to the Gentlemen about him, the Com-
mander of the militia, *the Prevôt des Mar-
chands*, and all the Electors.

“ The *La Fayette* of the Picards is an
old serjeant, lame, and blind of one eye,
who had distinguished himself in sever-
al popular commotions, in one of which
he

he had lost his eye. He very complaisantly related to us all the pains he had taken to embody one hundred and twenty Picards, and procure them cockades and muskets.— With this guard he hoped to have had the honour of escorting the Abbé *Maury* to Paris.

“ The *Prevôt des Marchands* of the town of Peronne is not, like *M. Bailly*, a member of the three academies ; but, like him, he had been appointed by *acclamation*, and was at the time school-master and a worthy church-warden.

“ Addressing these Gentlemen and all the Electors, we asked why the Nation did not massacre its prisoners at Peronne, as well as at Paris, and why their town deprived themselves of the sight of those executions, which first afforded so much pleasure, and then so much honour to the Parisians ; ‘ for, ‘ without injuring any body,’ we added, the ‘ Abbé *Maury* was surely worthy of your ‘ patriotic rage. Why send him back to ‘ Paris ? Are you waiting like the people at ‘ *Beaune* for a better opportunity ?’—‘ Gen- ‘ tlemen ! Gentlemen !’ gravely replied the ‘ Mayor of the town, ‘ Paris has the right of ‘ executing throughout the Kingdom ; but
‘ we

‘ we never put any to death but Picards ; for
‘ we are not precisely the Nation, as the Pa-
‘ risians are. The Abbé *Maury* is a deser-
‘ ter from the States-General ; this is a deli-
‘ cate point : we are waiting for orders from
‘ the National Assembly, which will set us
‘ to rights. We have but too much business
‘ already. This very night, upon intelli-
‘ gence received from Paris, Hainault,
‘ Flanders, and all Picardy have been under
‘ arms, the alarm-bell has been ringing
‘ every where in town and country ; three
‘ hundred thousand bourgeois patrols have
‘ been on foot, and all this to receive two
‘ thousand brigands embodied, who were to
‘ scatter themselves over our fields and burn
‘ our harvests.’ — ‘ We clearly perceived,
‘ Gentlemen, a considerable commotion as
‘ we crossed your province ; but being un-
‘ informed of the reason for your fears, we
‘ supposed this turbulent state to be the na-
‘ tural state of Picardy. Bourgeois patrols,
‘ armed with forks, clubs bound with iron,
‘ scythes, and here and there a musket, stop-
‘ ped us at every step, making us swear to
‘ love the Country, and above all the village
‘ through which we were passing. From
‘ post to post a militia-man was appointed

‘ to

‘ to accompany us, and the last who did us
‘ that honour mounted the box of our car-
‘ riage, carrying his pistols behind him,
‘ flung across in such a manner that their
‘ muzzles pointed directly upon us. In this
‘ situation we arrived at Roye, where we
‘ were asked if Mr. *Necker* were returned.
‘ We replied, he would return soon.’—‘ *It is*
‘ *always soon,*’ cried one of the chief per-
‘ sons. ‘ *I am resolved to take up the first*
‘ *who does not tell me that Mr. Necker*
‘ *is arrived, and send him tied hand*
‘ *and foot to the Hotel-de-Ville of the*
‘ *Nation at Paris.*’

‘ Having received such a lesson, we have
‘ not failed saying all along the road that
‘ Mr. *Necker* was arrived, and we will say
‘ the same to you, Gentlemen, if you re-
‘ quire it; only allow us to speak respect-
‘ ing the Abbé *Maury*, and to ask you, on
‘ the subject of the violent and false alarm
‘ you have received, what can be the end of
‘ those who terrify you with groundless ru-
‘ mours, and thus make you pass days and
‘ nights under arms. Whence could those
‘ two thousand men who were to burn your
‘ harvests come? Is not there a communi-
‘ cation

‘ cation kept up between the King and the
‘ whole Nation? Do not the soldiers every
‘ where do duty jointly with the bourgeois?’
‘ What you say there, Sir,’ said the Mayor,
cocking his eye at us, ‘ is very suspicious;
‘ it is fortunate for you that we know what
‘ we are about. It is our pleasure to believe
‘ that we are in danger; he who removes
‘ our fears is our enemy; and it is only by
‘ giving alarms that an army of three mil-
‘ lions of bourgeois and countrymen, from
‘ one end of the Kingdom to the other, can
‘ be kept on foot*, and that army is at
‘ this moment in existence.’

“ The Abbé *Maury* winked to us, and we were changing the conversation when a great noise was heard in the street, which proved to be the messenger just arrived from the National Assembly, who demanded, not the Abbé *Maury*’s person, but his liberty, declaring him sacred and inviolable; which mortified the town of Peronne to a degree that it would be difficult to express. They had incurred expence, equipped themselves to escort him to Paris, and flattered

* This is the whole secret of the National Assembly.

themselves with giving a grand proof of zeal to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, with perhaps effacing the remembrance of the suffering of *Foulon* and *Berthier*, by burning the Abbé *Maury*: these sweet hopes must all be renounced, and their prey released.

“ We were eyed suspiciously when we congratulated the Abbé on his deliverance; and it was lucky that he did not take it into his head to call us his friends and embrace us, for we should have been stoned. I do not know that he was aware of this new means of getting rid of his enemies; but he withdrew from the hands of his jailors, very well pleased to leave them, and at the same time much altered in the three days he had passed under them.

“ We do not know whether he has yielded to his gratitude to the National Assembly, or to resentment against the little people, and all democrats; that is to say, whether he will return to Versailles or go into the Low Countries: he went away without opening his mind to us. Before he went they made him swear that he would always love *Peronne*. He swore without hesitation, perfectly sure that he should find some casuist among the bishops who would free him from the sacredness of his oath.

“ P. S. You will be very careful not to publish this letter unless you have any intention to have some honest bookfeller of the *Palais-Royal* sent to the gallows. When we had only one master we might escape, though we did write, but now there is no using one's pen unless it is against him; for, since the People of Paris are become King, the mob is Queen, and one may be guilty of High Treason against all the suburbs and streets of the town to the *Place de Grève*. It is to be hoped, with *the Paris Journal*, that the Ladies of the Market will make the Kings and Queens of their quarter listen to reason. May they instil into all those Princes that clemency is a royal virtue, which is marvellously expedient at the commencement of a reign! When you have made sure of all those powers I will return and join you. In vain have the Ministers of the *Hotel-de-Ville* now published a general amnesty in the name of the People-King, I do not choose to trust to the Secretaries of a King that cannot read. I will never make use of a passport signed *Pitra**: that

* *Pitra*, Member of the Municipality of Paris, a paltry scribbler.

name which has been the death of so many wretched books can never insure the life of any man."

The Abbé *Maury's* conduct after his return to the Assembly, and the constant and ever fortunate intrepidity which he displayed at the most perilous moments, have fully proved, that though there are dangers which cannot be avoided but by flying from them, and which only a rashness more allied to madness than courage would brave, yet there are many more which flight renders more terrible, and which are to be escaped by being faced. True courage seldom mistakes them:—cowardice always does.

All I have been saying of the Abbé *Maury* is equally applicable to *M. de Cazalés*, who in a distinguished manner played the same part in the Order of the Nobility that the former did in the Order of the Clergy. He also quitted the Assembly about the same period, from the same motives, and was arrested at Caussade near Montauban, almost at the same time that the Abbé was arrested at Peronne; both one and the other were men of great cou-

rage. Prudence dictated to them what, in the same case, cowardice would have dictated to the Abbé Sieyes; his departure would have been a shameful flight, theirs was a prudent retreat.

CHAPTER XIII.

Letters from the English Ambassador—Mr. Necker's Return—His Speeches to the Assembly and the Municipality—Report of the Committee of Constitution, Rights of Man, &c.—The King gives Notice to the Assembly of the Appointment of the new Ministers—Resolutions of the 4th of August—Te Deum—The King entitled the Restorer of Liberty—A Medal decreed—Artifice successfully employed to prevail upon the Deputies of the Clergy to consent to the Abolition of Tithes—The King's Message respecting the Commotions and general Disorder—Speeches of the Ministers—Mr. Necker proposes a Loan of thirty Millions, bearing Five per Cent. Interest—The Assembly

agree, but reduce the Interest to Four-and-a-half—Municipalities charged with the re-establishment of public tranquillity—Treacherous and slanderous Proclamation—Address presented to the King by the Assembly on his Majesty's Festival—Debate upon the VETO.

THE People are an unmanageable instrument, and their impetuosity is never proportionate to the purpose of those by whom they are used ; but whatever be their deviations, they are always infinitely less to blame than the men who put them into motion without having a sufficient power at command to direct them.

The factious, whose detestable manœuvres had excited a general insurrection throughout France, being themselves frightened at the many enormous crimes the people committed, dreaded lest a general cry of indignation should mark them out, and flattered themselves to avert from their own heads the responsibility with which they were threatened, by causing it to be reported by their Journalists that the disorder and commotions which agitated the kingdom were fomented by the agents of the English Government.

This

This atrocious calumny soon gained so much credit, that the English Ambassador thought proper to refute it officially, and in consequence sent the following letter to *M. de Montmorin*, requesting him to communicate it to the Assembly :

“ Paris, July 26, 1789.—Sir, it has reached my ears from several quarters, that attempts are made to insinuate that my Court has in some degree fomented the commotions that for some time past have agitated this Capital; that it is taking advantage of this crisis to arm against France, and even that a fleet is upon the coasts for the purpose of co-operating with a party of malcontents. Though these reports are altogether destitute of foundation, they appear to me to have made an impression upon the National Assembly; and the National Courier, which publishes the proceedings of the Sitzings of the 23d and 24th of this month, throws out suspicions which pain me the more as you, Sir, know how far my Court is from deserving them.

“ Your Excellency will remember several conversations which I had with you in the beginning of June last: the shocking plot which had been proposed relative to the port of Brest, the eagerness I felt to put the

King and his Ministers upon their guard, the answer of my Court, which so fully corresponded with my own sentiments, and which rejected with horror the proposal made to it; lastly, the assurances of attachment which it repeated to the King and the Nation. You then informed me how much satisfaction his Majesty felt upon that occasion.

“ As my Court has it infinitely at heart to preserve the good harmony subsisting between the two Nations, and to remove all suspicion to the contrary, I request you, Sir, to make this letter known without delay to the President of the National Assembly. You are sensible how very important it is to me that justice be done to my conduct and to that of my Court, and to destroy the effect of the insidious insinuations which have been spread.

“ It is of infinite consequence that the National Assembly should know my sentiments, that they should do justice to those of my Country, and to the frank conduct it has ever maintained towards France since I have had the honour of being its organ.

“ I have it the more at heart that you should not lose a single moment in taking
these

these steps, as I owe it to my own character, to my country, and to the English who are here, to take care that no farther reflections of this kind be cast upon them*. I have the honour to be, &c.—Signed, DORSET.”

In the letter which *M. de Montmorin* sent with the Duke of *Dorset*'s, he declared, “ That the English Ambassador had in a personal conversation informed him, in the beginning of June, of a plot against Brest; that those who were concerned in it had requested succours for the expedition, and an asylum in England; that the Ambassador not having been able to give him any intelligence by which the authors of the project

* The Duke of *Dorset*, having sent an account of the step he had taken to his Court, was specially authorised “ to renew to *M. de Montmorin*, in the most positive terms, the assurances of the ardent desire of his Britannic Majesty and his Ministers to cultivate and support the friendship and harmony which were happily subsisting between the two Nations.”

Such were the contents of the second letter which the Duke of *Dorset* wrote on the 3d of August to *M. de Montmorin*, and which he requested him to communicate to the Assembly. The year following the same assurances were repeated on the part of his Britannic Majesty, in a letter from Mr. *Pitt* to *M. de Calonne*, who was then in England, and who sent the letter to the King. (Appendix, No. viii.)

could

could be traced, who he protested were absolutely unknown to him, every inquiry that could be made on grounds so uncertain had proved fruitless; but that the Minister of the Navy (*M. de la Luzerne*) had given orders to the Commander at Brest to use every precaution possible, and the strictest vigilance."

These letters were greatly applauded, and the President was charged to write to *M. de Montmorin*, and express the satisfaction of the Assembly*.

At the same Sitting, the Committee appointed to draw up a plan of Constitution presented the first part of their work, consisting of two chapters, to the Assembly: the first was the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of a Citizen; the other established

* It is not the only time that the offer of delivering up Brest has been made to England since the Revolution. I have myself had personal proof, as I have related in my Private Memoirs, (Vol. II. page 130.) that it was repeated in 1794; not by *Royalists*, *Vendeans*, or *Chouans*, but by a villain whom the Republic and the patriotism of the times reckoned among their staunchest chiefs. The British Government has always generously repelled those infamous proposals: it belongs but to a *Robespierre*, and his worthy followers, to secure success by crimes.

the

the principles of the French Government. They were both highly applauded; and the Assembly ordered them to be printed, and submitted to the examination of the different committees into which their Members were divided.

Mr. *Necker* arrived at Versailles on the 28th of July, and going next day to the Assembly, desired to be introduced, in order to offer *the homage of his respect and gratitude* to the Representatives of the Nation. He entered amidst the loudest applauses and acclamations, and spoke, or rather stammered out with extreme emotion, the two following sentences;

“ Mr. President, I come eagerly to express to this august Assembly my respectful gratitude for the marks of interest and of goodness they have been pleased to show me. They have thus laid weighty duties upon me; and it is by being impressed by their sentiments, and profiting by their knowledge, that amid circumstances so difficult I can hope to preserve any degree of courage.”

The

The President, who doubtless had no expectation of so laconic an harangue, had prepared a much longer answer, and one so full of flattery, that Mr. *Necker* himself must have been cloyed with it. It was however exceedingly applauded, and ordered to be printed*.

It was for the Commune of Paris, whether he repaired the day following, that Mr. *Necker* had reserved those pompous expressions which required such labour to bring forth, that when he had finished the production of this famous speech†, he had no time left to prepare another like it for the National Assembly.

Long and many harangues upon the Declaration of the Rights of Man, upon the weighty question whether it should be placed at the beginning or at the end of the Constitution, and upon the formation of a Committee of *Report* or of *Inquiry*, occupied the Assembly for several Sitzings. The necessity of constantly attending to the pre-

* Speech of the President of the Assembly in reply to Mr. *Necker*. See Appendix, No. iv.

† Mr. *Necker*'s Speech at the *Hotel-de-Ville* in Paris. See Appendix, No. v.

tended plots and dangers without number with which the Nation was threatened, served as a pretext for this institution, which was soon rendered formidable by the most odious inquisition and most arbitrary vexations.

The Assembly themselves, alarmed at the multitude and loquacity of their speakers, began to be afraid that the Constitution would never be settled, from the length of the debates that took place upon every article; and this apprehension made them at first give great applause to a motion for stopping* every person who had spoken five minutes: for this purpose it was moved, that the President should keep a five-minute-glass on his desk. This motion, which was made by a Deputy of the name of *Bouche*, a circumstance one would have supposed enough in itself to have turned it into ridicule, was very seriously opposed by *Target* and others. It was curious enough to see this Assembly, with the pretension of being the most august in the world, spend-

* *Fermez la bouche à tout opinant*—to shut the speaker's mouth: the Mover's name happened to be equivocal with the mouth.

ing hours on the question, whether their members should or should not have the liberty of speaking more than five minutes. At length, after much debating, the cause of eloquence or of loquacity gained a complete triumph. It was resolved, that a double list of those members who wished to speak for or against a motion should be made, and that *each should speak in his turn*. A resolution no doubt very reasonable, but not easily to be adhered to in that Assembly.

One of the first objects to which Mr. Necker had to attend, was the filling up of the vacant places in the Administration. It was prudent to appoint only such persons as were agreeable to the Assembly, and the surest means of doing that, was to choose them among the most popular of its own members. To this character the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux* added that of being Mr. Necker's particular friend, and the merit of having offered himself eagerly to the Assembly to run after that Minister with the King's letter, which was to recall him, and the President's, which invited him to yield to the wishes of the Nation and its Representatives. That commission the Assembly thought would be more properly executed

by the clerk *Du Fresne St. Leon*; but the Archbishop's extraordinary officiousness did not the less deserve to be rewarded, and the place of Keeper of the Seals, vacant by the resignation of *M. Barentin*, and to which the survivorship of the office of Chancellor* was attached, was bestowed upon him.

Mr.

* The place of Keeper of the Seals, which when separate from that of the Chancellor was always held in commission, had been a second time created a distinct office in 1774 in favour of *M. de Miromenil*, at the period of the re-establishment of the Parliament of Paris, who, on account of that circumstance, consented to register the Edict which revived it, and which attached to it the survivorship of that of Chancellor, conformably to the Edict of 1551, by which this office of Keeper of the Seals had been originally created a distinct one, in favour of Cardinal *John Bertrand*, one of my great-uncles. At the death of *Henry II.* his successor *Francis II.* took the Seals from Cardinal *Bertrand*, to restore them to the Chancellor *Olivier*, who had continued in disgrace during the preceding reign; but Cardinal *Bertrand* returned the Seals to the King, without giving in the resignation of his office, and was sent Ambassador to Venice. When the Chancellor *Olivier* died, *Michael de l'Hopital* was appointed in his place, upon the resignation which Cardinal *Bertrand* then consented to make: from his great age and infirmities he could not undertake the journey from Venice to Paris. Still he might have refused his resignation, and in that case the King could only have given *Michael de l'Hopital* a simple

Mr. *Necker* seized this occasion to introduce the custom of submitting the appointment of the Ministers to the Assembly for

simple commission as Keeper of the Seals, revokable at pleasure. (*Hist. des Chanceliers de France, by Duchesne.*) It might have been the same with the successors of *M. de Miromenil*, if at the time of his disgrace he had confined himself, like Cardinal *Bertrand*, to returning the Seals without giving in his resignation; but he contented himself with observing to *M. de Montmorin*, who demanded it of him, that he had a right to refuse it, and that he complied only to give the King a new proof of his respect and obedience. *M. de Lamoignon*, who succeeded him, having also given in his resignation, *M. de Barentin* was advanced to the office. He, at the period of his retreat, might still more easily than *M. de Miromenil* have merely delivered the Seals without giving in his resignation, as the King did not ask it of him. He was no doubt apprehensive that by not resigning he might increase the embarrassment of the critical situation to which his Majesty was reduced, and his conduct on the occasion is therefore praiseworthy; but the consequence was, that the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux* became regularly invested with the office of Keeper of the Seals and the survivorship attached to it. There is no doubt but that he would have been Chancellor if that office had become vacant during his administration, and if the Assembly had not suppressed that great office of the crown, and substituted in its place the Keeper of the Seals of France. Allowing the suppression to be valid, the Chancellor *Maupeou*, who died in the month of August 1792, survived the office about two years.

their

their sanction, or at least their approbation ; in order that those who were honoured with their esteem and favour should in future be safe from all Court intrigues. He might by these means have secured a perpetuity in his office, were not popular confidence still more versatile than the favour of Kings. Be that as it may, Mr. *Necker* persuaded the King to write the following letter to the Assembly, to inform them of the appointment of the new Ministers :

“ Gentlemen, I think it correspondent to the sentiments of confidence which should reign between us, to acquaint you myself with the manner I have filled the vacant places of my Ministry.

“ I have given the Seals to the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, and the List of Benefices to the Archbishop of *Vienne**. I have appointed *M. de la Tour-du-Pin-Paulin*

* The Keeper of the List of Benefices possessed an immense patronage in the Church, his office being to attend to the vacancies of every kind, and to recommend proper persons to the King to supply them. The Archbishops or Bishops heretofore appointed to this place were in that quality neither Secretaries of State nor Ministers, and consequently not in the King's Council. The union of these was granted to the popularity of the Archbishop of *Vienne*. The Revolution gained more by it than Religion did.

Minister of the War Department; and Marshal *Beauvau** one of my Council.

“ The nomination of my Ministers from the Assembly itself, evinces my desire of maintaining the most constant and most amicable harmony with it.”

This letter produced the warmest applause; the Assembly caused it to be read a second time, and unanimously voted an address of thanks to the King, in gratitude for so affecting a mark of his confidence.

The Evening Sitting of the same day offered a scene as remarkable for its extravagance, as important in its consequences. This nocturnal Sitting is too famous in the history of the Revolution to be passed over without giving some particulars of it.

In the Sitting of the preceding day, the Committee of Report had stated to the Assembly, that letters and memorials received from all the Provinces proved that “ property of every nature was every where the prey of the most atrocious plunderers, and that throughout the country the houses were burnt, the convents destroyed, and the farms given up to pillage. Imposts, seigneurial

† An old friend and constant admirer of Mr. *Necker's*.

services,

services, all," added the Reporter of the Committee, (*Salomon*, an advocate of Orleans) "all is annihilated; the Laws are without force, the Magistrates without authority; and Justice is no longer but a phantom, which it is vain to seek in the Courts."

As a remedy to all these disorders, the Committee of Report proposed the plan of a Declaration which was not satisfactory to the Assembly; but after much debating they adopted the chief points of it, and ordered a new one of the same tenor to be drawn up, and presented to them the next day, August 4, at the Evening Sitting.

The Assembly did not meet till eight o'clock, and began with hearing the new plan of a Declaration read. It referred to the ancient laws, "as still subsisting and to be adhered to, until the authority of the Nation should have abrogated or modified them: it declared that the imposts, as they were, should continue to be received, according to the Resolution of the 17th of June last, until the Assembly should have established contributions and forms less burdensome to the People: that all usual rents and services should be discharged as before, until it should be otherwise ordered: and lastly, that the laws

made for the security of persons and property should be universally respected. By the concluding article it was ordered, that the Declaration should be sent into all the Provinces, and that the parish priests should be desired to make it known to their parishioners, and recommend the observance of it to them."

To appreciate dispositions so wise, it would have been necessary that reason and cool sense should have prevailed at this Sitting; but these were not suited to the crowd of young modish Legislators, whose petulant patriotism had been heightened by the fumes of wine and a hearty dinner. The Declaration appeared to them insufficient, and they rose almost all at once to oppose it. In their opinion, the only means of re-establishing tranquillity was to begin by satisfying the People: they spoke of them as of a justly-exasperated Divinity, who was to be appeased only by sacrifices. "This good
" People," said the Viscount *de Noailles* with emotion; "these Communities have
" set forth their demands: it is not a Con-
" stitution they desire; that wish has been
" expressed only in the Bailiwicks. What
" then do they ask? An equal division of
" the

“ the taxes, the suppression of aids, the
 “ abolition of certain feudal rights, the re-
 “ demption or exchange of others. For
 “ near three months past they have seen
 “ their Representatives occupied in what we
 “ call, and what in fact is, public business;
 “ but public business appears to them to re-
 “ late more immediately to such things as they
 “ are in need of, and which they ardently wish
 “ to obtain.” He concluded with moving,
 “ That all these articles be decreed before
 “ the plan of a Declaration presented by the
 “ Committee be adopted.”

The Duke *d'Aiguillon* seconded this mo-
 tion with such pathetic and efficacious elo-
 quence, that the Assembly, in tears, gave
 themselves up entirely to the delirium of sa-
 crifices. At the same instant Deputies of
 every one of the Orders were seen rushing in
 crowds towards the table, to be the first to
 make their offerings. “ How will it affect
 “ the feelings of every Citizen,” said a
 Member of the Order of the Nobility, “ to
 “ hear that the Members of the Communes
 “ having yesterday solicited the attention of
 “ the National Assembly to prevent the
 “ outrages committed against the persons
 “ and property of the Nobility, the Nobility,
 F f 3

“ lity, by a generous return, had this day
“ given every class of the French Nation so
“ signal a proof of their patriotism and
“ love !”

The feudal rights were distinguished into real and personal. The latter, and those which had formerly been personal, but had been redeemed for a rent in corn or money, were abolished without any compensation. All the real rights were declared redeemable, and also the rights of Mortmain, Courts-Baron, and Improvements :—all Seigneurial Jurisdictions, exclusive Right of Game, Warrens, &c. &c. were suppressed. A Member of the Nobility then rose, and said with emotion, “ Catullus had but one bird,
“ and he could do no more than offer his
“ bird : so is it with me, I have nothing
“ else, and I give it up ; as pigeons are
“ hurtful to agriculture, they ought to be
“ destroyed.”

The Motion, drawn up like a madrigal, passed unanimously. It was followed by a Decree, without the slightest opposition, for the equal support of taxes according to the abilities of those who paid them, the gratuitous administration of justice, the abolition of the sale of places, and of all pecuniary privileges

vileges and exemptions, the reform of franchises and peculiar jurisdictions, and for the free admission of every Citizen to ecclesiastic, civil and military employments, without any distinction of birth. The particular privileges of Provinces and Towns were also given up by their respective Deputies, and those who were restrained by the strictness of their instructions said that they would write to their Constituents to solicit their consent. Provence was the only Province for which any claim was made. Its privileges had at first been relinquished by *M. d'André*, one of its Deputies; but they were immediately claimed (in the name of the Members deputed from that Province) and defended by the Archbishop of *Aix*. He maintained that those privileges were essential rights, grounded on compacts and agreements, the abolition of which could be of no importance to the rest of France, as their existence could in no manner be injurious to the other provinces. "The question," said he, "is not relative to taxation, but to certain forms suited to the dispositions, customs, and manners of the inhabitants, and which only tend to support more effectually the safety of persons and of pro-

perty ; they are natural rights better preserved, which it would be just to make common to the whole kingdom. We have no authority to renounce them for Provence, and no renunciation could be valid without its special consent." These remonstrances were certainly just; but what influence could justice and reason have amidst these patriotic orgies, in which the most lawful rights, confounded with the greatest abuses, were all indiscriminately sacrificed on *the altar of the Country*, or rather hurled into the gulph of the Revolution?

The sacrifices made by the Order of the Clergy were not inferior to those of the Nobility. Pluralities were forbidden; first-fruits, and the right to the profits during vacancies, were suppressed: Parish Priests gave up their fees, and it was instantly decreed, that they should be indemnified by an increase of salary for a competent provision, and in the manner of the income of Priests in Towns. It was lastly decreed, that ecclesiastical tithes should be suppressed, and a *modus* established in lieu of them. It was also resolved, that all the pensions which had been granted by the Crown should be submitted to the examination of the Assembly,
that

that they might suppress those that had been obtained without a sufficient claim, and reduce those which they should find rated too high.

As soon as these articles were all decreed, the Archbishop of *Paris* moved, that the Assembly should order a *Te Deum* to be sung in the King's Chapel in presence of his Majesty and the Members of the National Assembly. If there be little merit in returning thanks to the Supreme Being for the good he does us, it requires a great stock of piety to thank him also for the evil he inflicts upon us ; and in this point of view the Archbishop's motion could not but be very edifying, and it was adopted unanimously.

So also was a motion of a different nature, made by *M. de Lally*, the substance of which is as follows, and will give a just idea of the enthusiasm and intoxication with which the Assembly was overcome.

“ Gentlemen, amid these raptures, amid
“ these ecstasies which blend all our senti-
“ ments, all our wishes, all our souls, ought
“ we not to remember the King? the King
“ who has convened us, although the Na-
“ tional Assemblies have been interrupted
“ for nearly two centuries; the King who
“ was

“ was the first to invite us to the happy
“ union we have just completed ; the King,
“ who of his own accord has relinquished
“ all the rights which his justice suggested
“ ought not to be retained ; the King, in
“ short, who has thrown himself into our
“ arms, and who again this morning offer-
“ ed us, and requested from us, a constant
“ and friendly confidence ! On this glorious
“ day let every one reap his reward, let
“ every one enjoy his happiness ; may the
“ public happiness be the chief result of
“ it ! May the union of the King and Peo-
“ ple crown the union of all the Orders,
“ of all the Provinces, and of all the Ci-
“ tizens !

“ It was in the midst of the States-Ge-
“ neral that *Louis XII.* was proclaimed
“ *Father of the People* ; I move that in the
“ midst of this National Assembly, the most
“ august and important ever convened,
“ *Louis XVI.* be proclaimed *Restorer of*
“ *French Liberty.*”

This Proclamation was immediately made
with the highest raptures by the Assembly
and all the spectators. The Hall resounded,
for more than a quarter of an hour, with
the

the cries of “ *Vive le Roi!*” “ *Vive Louis XVI,* restorer of French Liberty!”

It was then resolved, that a medal should be struck, to perpetuate the memory of so glorious a day, or rather of so glorious a night; for it was two in the morning before the Assembly broke up this famous Sitting, in which all the rights and all the property of the Kingdom were confounded, and institutions as ancient as the Monarchy, rendered sacred by ages of respect, were in a moment annihilated.

I was not present at this Sitting, but one of my friends who attended, related to me the next morning what had passed. As he spoke in a tone too serious for me to suppose he was in jest, I began to think he had lost his senses; but I soon found in the public papers a confirmation of the particulars he had mentioned. I could not help thinking that I was reading an account of one of those frolics sometimes entered into by wild young fellows, who, after pushing the bottle freely, begin to break their glasses, decanters, and plates, then to contend who shall throw the most valuable furniture out of the window, and before they have done leave the room bare; but who next day, at
fight

fight of their bill, curse their folly while they pay for the things destroyed. Unfortunately the patriotic frolic of the 4th of August did not end so; it ruined millions of individuals who had no share in it, and enriched nobody. The reducing all the articles then decreed into a formal Act gave room for long debates in the following Sitings. Our sobered legislators thought they had only dreamt what they had too surely decreed, and several of them laboured to interpret and give a turn to the decrees so as to reduce the effect of them considerably; but the terms of them were too positive to be open to any restriction which the people would admit. The only article they found it possible to modify was that which condemned the pigeons to death or emigration. The exclusive appropriation of flights and dove-cotes was not totally suppressed; but it was ordained, that the pigeons should be shut up at periods appointed by the Communes, during which time they should be considered as all other kind of game, and liable to be killed as such. But as this modification did not take place for eight-and-forty-hours after the original decree, most of the dove-cotes were destroyed or unstocked before

fore it was known, otherwise it might, perhaps, have saved some of them*.

The Nobility and Clergy were treated much less favourably in the final arrangement of the Decrees of the 4th of August. The suppression of all feudal rents, services, and fealty, was not thought sufficient; to this article was added the entire abolition of the feudal system, that is—of all rights of paramount, precarious feuds, re-

* It should be observed here, that scarcely any of the Decrees of the Evening Sitting of August 4th were regularly passed. Several motions which the acclamations, clapping, and vociferations of the galleries did not suffer to be heard, were among those Decrees, although, amidst the dreadful tumult that prevailed, it was as impossible for the Assembly to have passed them, as for the Secretaries to have written them. This was very strenuously insisted upon the next day by several of the members of the *Côté Droit*, and particularly by *M. d'Epresmenil*, who maintained that all those pretended Decrees were previously drawn up, and that the Sitting had been purposely opened so late to convert it into a nocturnal and scandalous huddle, the more easily to alter the proceedings in such a manner as to square with the plan of the authors of this manœuvre. But the President (*Chapelier*) and the Secretaries boldly asserted that all those Decrees had been passed, and the majority of the Assembly, thinking themselves bound by their attestation, confirmed this work of darkness and delirium.

liefs,

liefs, fealty, &c. The article which declared tithes abolished, became the subject of a long and noisy debate, in which the Abbé Sieyès attempted in vain to demonstrate that the Assembly, having once acknowledged tithes to be lawful property, and declared them redeemable, could not, without glaring inconsistency, declare them not redeemable, that is to say, to give indemnities on the suppression of appropriate tithes, and not on that of common tithes, though one and the other were of the same nature. “ They would be free,” he said, “ and cannot be just.” These arguments, and those advanced by most of the defenders of tithes, were unanswerable ; nor did they receive any other answer than clamours from the galleries, and threats uttered by the populace against the chief members of the Clergy as they left the Assembly. In order to put an end to their debates, which had taken up two Sitzings, recourse was had to a trick which, palpable as it was, was completely successful. About a score of parish priests, three-fourths of whom were not in the receipt of tithes, were made to sign a declaration, by which they entirely

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ly

ly relinquished to the Nation their right to them. During the debate a favourable moment was dexterously seized to make use of this paper. The applause and enthusiasm, whether sincere or dissembled, which it excited, instantaneously electrified the majority of the Clergy. The Bishops, Abbés Com-mendataries, and Priests, showed equal eagerness to sign this Declaration, left for that purpose on the table ; and the Archbishop of *Paris* confirmed the business in the most solemn manner, by proclaiming, in the name of his colleagues, and of all his Clergy, the relinquishment of all ecclesiastical tithes to the Nation. “ Let the Gospel be publish-
“ ed,” added he, “ let divine worship be
“ celebrated with decency and dignity ; let
“ the churches be provided with virtuous
“ and zealous pastors, and above all, let
“ the poor be comforted. To such pur-
“ poses are our tithes appointed, such is
“ the object of our wishes, the aim and
“ end of our Ministry. We trust in the
“ National Assembly, and we do not doubt
“ that they will provide us with the means
“ of accomplishing worthily, objects so im-
“ portant and so sacred.” It was in conse-
quence

quence decreed, that tithes of every nature, and rents substituted for them, &c. should be abolished, subject, nevertheless, to the consideration in what other manner provision should be made for the maintaining of divine worship, for the support of its Ministers, for the comfort of the poor, for the repairing and re-building of churches, &c.

Thus was annulled this patriarchal tribute, the most ancient and venerable among men; thus was broken the link which united the hopes of the earth to the favours of Heaven, the interest of the priest to the prosperity of the peasant, the hymns and prayers of every age to the flowers and fruits of every season *.

The discussion respecting the drawing up of the Decrees of the 4th of August was interrupted in the Sitting of the 7th by the entrance of all the Ministers, who were sent by the King “to repose in the bosom of the Assembly the anxieties with which his Majesty’s paternal heart was agitated.” It was thus that the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux* introduced the message. He painted as truly

* *Journal de Rivarol.*

as energetically the deplorable state to which France was reduced; the unbridled licentiousness of the times, the laws without force, the forms of justice neglected, and force and arbitrary proscriptions substituted; property invaded in all the provinces, incendiaries ravaging the habitations of the inhabitants, the asylums of piety violated, industry and commerce suspended, terror and desolation spread throughout the Kingdom. “A wise and
“excellent Constitution,” added he, “is
“and ought to be the surest and most fertile principle of the happiness of this
“Empire. His Majesty waits the result of
“your labours with the most ardent impatience, and has expressly commissioned us
“to urge you to accelerate them: but circumstances require precautions and cares
“of more immediate and active effect; they
“require that you should take the promptest
“measures for suppressing the rage for
“plunder, and the reliance on impunity;
“that you should restore to public authority
“the influence it has lost: the power which
“you shall enforce will never be dangerous,
“but armed disorder will become so more
“and more every day.”

To this picture Mr. *Necker*, who spoke next, added that of an empty treasury, occasioned by the delay of the payment of the taxes, by the pillage of the offices, by the dispersion of the registers, and by smuggling, which was carried on with open force in several provinces. He demonstrated the necessity of immediately engaging a loan of thirty millions, to supply unavoidable expences, and the most pressing wants, only for two months, which he stated to be sufficient time for the Assembly “to have
“ finished, or at least to have considerably
“ advanced, the great labours in which they
“ were engaged, and from which would result a permanent order such as the Nation had a right to expect from the enlightened zeal of their Representatives,
“ and the just and beneficent intentions of
“ the King.”

He did not deny that amid so much commotion the success of this loan “was very
“ uncertain, notwithstanding the generous
“ and patriotic sentiments which ought to
“ support it, and although the first loan secured by the Representatives of a Nation
“ the most attached to the laws of honour,
“ and

“ and the richest in Europe, offered moneyed men an opportunity of laying out their capitals free from any real apprehension.”

He proposed 1st, to fix the interest of this loan simply at five per cent. 2dly, That it should be payable at the period to be named by each lender, at the next sessions of the States-General. 3dly, That the payment should be made the first charge in the arrangements to be taken for the establishment of a sinking fund. 4thly, That a list of the subscribers to this patriotic loan should be delivered to the Assembly, and entered on their Journals.

So many lures brought forward to ensure success for a miserable loan of thirty millions, sufficiently indicated the annihilation of public credit, and the opinion Mr. *Necker*, who was in a situation to form a better judgment than any other person, entertained of it. The credit of a Government never survives its power, and the power of the French Government no longer existed. The Assembly intended to have made themselves masters of it, but they could only effect its dissolution: their own consisted in the ability of destroying; and that kind of

power, however extensive it be, is not at all in favour of credit—a truth that soon proved itself. The Assembly, persuaded that any loan opened under their sanction could not require any great advantages to be offered to the lenders, after a debate of two days * voted the loan demanded by Mr. *Necker*; but, far from adopting the terms proposed by him, they rated the interest at four-and-a-half per cent, without fixing any time for the payment of the capital †. The consequence was, that it was impossible to fill the subscription for this loan, that they were obliged to have recourse to means infinitely more burdensome, and very soon to the most disastrous of all—*Assignats*.

* In this debate the Clergy offered, by the Archbishop of *Aix*, to undertake this loan, and to mortgage all ecclesiastical property for the payment of the interest and also the principal. But this offer was too great an obstacle to the views of the factious and jobbers to be accepted.

† In the Sitting of the 27th of August, the Assembly, finding that the subscriptions to this loan amounted to no more than 2,600,000 livres, declared it closed, and, on Mr. *Necker's* proposal, voted a new loan of eighty millions, half in money, and half in public bills, upon the conditions mentioned by the Minister of Finance. This loan succeeded no better than the former.

Nor

Nor was the Assembly more fortunate in the choice of their measures for suppressing the disorder and robberies that desolated France. Instead of re-establishing public authority upon its ancient basis, and restoring to it the influence it had lost, they invested the Municipalities with all the powers heretofore exercised in the higher affairs of the police by the Commanders of the Provinces, by Commissioners of Appeal, and by the Parliaments; and to the sole vigilance of the Municipal Officers, all excellent patriots in the sense of the Revolution, they confided the care of restoring and maintaining public tranquillity. They authorised them to employ for that purpose the National militia, who obeyed their Commander only when he regulated his orders by their will; the Marechaussée, who were cautious how they obeyed commands disapproved by the National militia; and the troops of the line, who thinking themselves degraded by being placed under Municipal Officers, did not relish acting in obedience to them. This was, nevertheless, the extent of the Proclamation which was voted according to the eloquent remonstrance of the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*. The pre-

amble of the Proclamation is not less remarkable for the malicious and false insinuations it contains, than for the facts it states. The beginning is literally as follows :

“ The National Assembly, considering
“ that the enemies of the Nation, having
“ lost the hope of preventing the public re-
“ generation and establishment of Liberty
“ by the force of Despotism, appear to have
“ conceived the criminal project of attain-
“ ing the same end by the means of disor-
“ der and anarchy ; that they have, among
“ other expedients, at the same juncture,
“ and almost on the same day, caused false
“ alarms to be excited in the different pro-
“ vinces of the Kingdom ; and that by
“ false reports of inroads and pillage they
“ have given rise to real enormities and
“ crimes which attack both property and
“ persons, and which, disturbing the gene-
“ ral order of society, deserve the severest
“ punishment ; that those men had carried
“ their daring spirit to such a length as to
“ spread forged orders and even forged
“ edicts of the King, which have set one
“ part of the Nation against the other, at
“ the very time that the National Assembly
“ were

“ were passing the most favourable Decrees
“ for the People——”

The charge of employing violent means to prevent the public regeneration, and the establishment of Liberty, was not directed against the ruffians who were engaged in pillaging, setting houses on fire, and murder, but levelled at the Clergy, Nobility, and Magistracy, in a word at the *Aristocrats*; for that title carried with it the conviction of every crime. It was likewise the *Aristocrats* whom this proclamation accused of fabricating forged orders and forged edicts of the King, for the purpose of causing their own property to be pillaged and burnt, and themselves to be assassinated! and the Assembly were not shocked at this gross imposture, at this atrocious abuse of the fatal magic of the word *Aristocrats*, and of the credulity of the people! This proclamation passed by a very great majority, and met with no difficulty except in regard to the oath to be administered to the troops, which was prescribed by the decree that followed.

The debates upon the Declaration of the Rights of Man, upon the organization of the Judicial Power, and upon some articles

of the Plan of a Constitution, occupied all the Sittings till the 25th of August, on which day they were suspended in honour of the King's festival. The Assembly appointed a Deputation of sixty of their Members to carry their congratulations to his Majesty on the occasion, and to present him the following Address :

“ Sire, the Monarch whose revered name
“ your Majesty bears, and whose virtues
“ Religion this day commemorates, was,
“ like you, the friend of his People. Like
“ you, Sire, he had French liberty at heart,
“ and guarded it by laws which are an
“ honour to our annals; but he could not be
“ the Restorer of it. This glory, which
“ has been reserved for your Majesty, gives
“ you an immortal right to our gratitude,
“ and to the tender veneration of all French-
“ men. Thus will the names of two kings,
“ separated by the lapse of ages but assim-
“ lated by the most signal acts of justice in
“ favour of their People, be for ever united.
“ Sire, the National Assembly have sus-
“ pended their labours a few moments to
“ perform a duty which is delightful to
“ them, though indeed it cannot be a de-
“ parture

“ parture from their trust : to speak to their
“ King of the love and fidelity of French-
“ men, is to be employed in a concern
“ truly National, and to gratify the first
“ wishes of their hearts.*”

While the Assembly were paying the King an homage so truly merited, the great political questions debated in their Sitzings were made the subjects of discussion at the clubs, and among the groups of the *Palais-Royal*. Hired orators made random declamations which were ever replete with fury against the division of the Legislative Body into two chambers, against the Royal Assent, and against the absolute and suspensive VETO. These men knew as little as their hearers what the difference was between the absolute and suspensive *veto*, or indeed what *veto* meant at all ; but they were persuaded that one or the other was an enormous encroachment upon Liberty and the Sovereignty of the People ; and that they might not be

* This Address was drawn up by *Le Pelletier de St. Fargeau*, the same who afterwards became a Member of the Convention, sat in judgment on the King, voted for his death, and was himself assassinated by a person named *Paris*.

mistaken which of the two it was, the majority determined to abhor both *vetos* equally. This violent fermentation, concurring with the general discontent excited by the continuance and progress of the dearth, raised the most alarming agitation in the Capital,

NOTES.

N^o. I.*Note relative to the Abbé Sieyes.*

IT only depended on the possession of an Abbey of 12,000 livres (five hundred pounds sterling) a year, and a little more attention from the Archbishop of *Sens*, to have made the Abbé *Sieyes* one of the most zealous supporters of the old Government. I assert this fact on the testimony of several persons worthy of the highest credit, without any fear of its being contradicted by the Abbé *Sieyes* himself; and I cite him from among a thousand instances, that the world may justly appreciate the zeal, patriotism, and principles of those revolutionary demoniacs, who all, madmen and idiots excepted, had no other object in declaiming and writing so violently against the Government and the Ministers, than to make them purchase at a higher price their silence or their pen. The Abbé *Sieyes*, a man for systems, a subtle arguer, an obscurely profound metaphysician, pushed himself into notice in 1787, in the Provincial Assembly of Orleans, of which he was a member, by his continual and frequently

em-

embarrassing opposition to the old principles, and to all the views of the Government. The Archbishop of *Sens*, then Minister, being informed of it, asked *M. de L——*, one of the principal members of that department, who the Abbé *Sieyes* was, of whom he heard so much. “He is a man (replied *M. de L——*) extremely dangerous in times like these. You must absolutely secure him, to prevent his doing a great deal of mischief.”—“But by what means secure him?”—“There is but one; and that is, to chain him down with fetters—not of iron, but of gold.”—“What! do you think he is to be bought?”—“I have no doubt of it; he is not rich, he loves expensive living, and good cheer, and of course money.”—“How much must he have? Do you think an annuity of 6000 livres upon an Abbey would be enough?”—“No; his price is higher than that.”—“Say twelve, then.”—“That will do; but instead of giving him an annuity give him an Abbey of that value. He is of low extraction, and full of vanity; he would be highly flattered with an Abbey, and you will be sure of being better served for it.”—“Let it be so then. Will you undertake the negotiation?”—“No, I cannot; but the Abbé *de Cezarges*, who is known to be entirely devoted to you, is in our Provincial Assembly, and nobody is fitter to execute the commission.”—“Well, then, I will put it into his hands.”

The Archbishop of *Sens* in consequence sent the

the Abbé *Cezarges* private instructions, together with a letter which he was to show as occasion required to the Abbé *Sieyes*, and in which the Minister spoke highly of the talents and great knowledge of the Abbé, saying, that he had mentioned him to the King, and that his Majesty thought of calling him into the Administration, of preferring him to an Abbey of 12,000 livres income, &c.

With these credentials the Abbé *Cezarges* went and paid a friendly visit to the Abbé *Sieyes*. “How is it, my dear Abbé,” said he to him, “that, with all the talents you possess, you have not the wit to turn them to account in improving your situation? The side of opposition in our Assemblies will only serve to create you powerful enemies, and to shut the door of favour against you; whereas, if instead of perpetually opposing and embarrassing the Government you were to be of service to it, you would certainly be well rewarded.”—“Of service to the Government! to the Ministers! Do not mention it to me; there is nothing to be done with those People, they are all either madmen or fools.”—“The Archbishop of *Sens*”——“The Archbishop of *Sens* is the greatest madman among them.”—“You will allow at least that he is not a fool, and I will convince you that he is not mad; you are much in the wrong to speak of him as you do: the proof of his not being mad is, that he thinks highly of you.”—“Of me! He does not even

even know my name.”—“ You are mistaken; he has heard a great deal of you, and does not doubt that you could, if you would, be of very great service to the Administration: he has even proposed you to the King, and to give you an Abbey.”—“ An Abbey!”—“ Yes, an Abbey, and an Abbey too with a revenue of 12,000 livres; this deserves attention.”—“ No doubt it would, if what you say were true.”—“ I can show you all I have said to you, written by the hand of the Minister himself; and I should not have mentioned it to you, had I not been expressly commissioned by him to do it.”—“ Oh! that alters the case.”—“ Well! what answer shall I give?”—“ I cannot pretend to say that a good Abbey would not give me a very great pleasure.”—“ That’s right, and you may depend upon having one; but may the Ministry also depend upon your services?”—“ Of course; and if they will listen to me they will be guilty of fewer follies.”—“ Then I may write to the Archbishop of Sens that you accept the Abbey, and so forth.”—“ Yes, certainly; but when is this to take place?”—“ Immediately after the closing of our Provincial Assembly. You must go to Versailles, where you will see the Archbishop; converse with him upon the subject, and in the next arrangement of the list you will be appointed.”

From that moment the Abbé Sieyès entirely changed his tone in the Assembly, to the great astonishment of those who were unacquainted with his

his secret. They continued sitting for about six weeks longer. Hardly were they broke up when the Abbé Sieyes repaired to Versailles, and presented himself at the Hotel of the Archbishop of Sens. During two hours he waited in vain in the anti-chamber for the moment when he should be introduced into the Minister's closet. At length finding that he was not sent for, he desired a servant to go and announce him again; but by that he gained nothing, for all the answer brought back by the servant was, that his Lordship was very busy, and could not see any body. The Abbé, convinced that he had been made game of, went away exasperated at the Cardinal, and sadly vexed at having yielded so easily to corruption, especially as he had experienced all the shame without reaping any of the profit of it. He hastened to the Abbé de Cezarges, related his adventure, and reproached him very bitterly for having made himself the instrument of so abominable a piece of treachery. The Abbé de Cezarges did all he could to appease his anger, and to persuade him that the Archbishop's mind could not be changed: he promised him to go and see the Minister in the course of the day, and ascertain his intentions. It was not till he heard of the Abbé Sieyes's great rage that the Archbishop remembered the promises he had desired to be made to him more than six weeks before, or even his name, which he had almost forgotten. "Let him know (said he to the Abbé de Cezarges) that I was ignorant of
" his

“ his being at Versailles, and that my servant
“ having misunderstood, or not retaining his
“ name, had pronounced it in such a bungling
“ manner, that it had been impossible for me to
“ guess it was he who was announced. Let him
“ come again to see me, and I will make my
“ peace with him.”

This conversation, with the particulars of which the Abbé Sieyès was next day informed, appeasing his wrath, and reviving his hopes a little, he agreed to pay a second visit to the Archbishop of Sens. Unfortunately he went the day on which the Minister gave a public audience, and when of course every body who wished to see or to speak to him, went, without being announced, into the Hall as soon as the doors of it were opened. The Archbishop having never seen this Abbé, and being as little apprised of his second visit as he had been of his first, paid him no attention, and perhaps took him for one of those busy-bodies who are often seen at the levees of Ministers, though they have nothing to say to them, and who attend chiefly to say that they had been there. The Abbé Sieyès being totally ignorant of the ceremony of Ministerial audiences, waited and waited in vain for the Archbishop's coming up to him. The Minister concluded his levee according to custom, as soon as those who went to speak to him had said all they had to say, and retired to his closet, leaving the

the Abbé *Sieyes* in the Hall, confounded, transported with rage, and more convinced than ever that he had been made a dupe. He went off cursing the Archbishop of *Sens*, and swearing to be revenged for so atrocious a perfidy. The Abbé *Cezarges* tried without effect to bring him to reason, and to justify the Minister; but he repeatedly answered, "Say no more of that man to me! He is a villain! he shall know—he shall know whom he has to deal with." He accordingly some time after published his first pamphlet, entitled, "*Moyens d'Exécution*," in which he inserted the most virulent declamation that had ever been made against the Archbishop of *Sens*.

This anecdote was told by the Abbé *Cezarges* to many of his friends, who have repeated it to me with the same circumstances. It was also confirmed to me by *M. de L——*, the member of the Provincial Assembly of Orleans, whom I mentioned to have been the person who advised the Archbishop of *Sens* to gain the Abbé *Sieyes*.

N^o II.

*Note relative to the Cardinal de Rohan, his Arrest,
and the celebrated Affair of the Necklace.*

THE Cardinal *de Rohan* being, as High Almoner of France, at the head of the Administration of the Hospital of *Quinze-Vingts**, had made such advantageous reforms and improvements in that establishment, that he had considerably increased the number of the persons admitted, who were the blind, those being the objects of the charity, which was founded by *St. Louis*. The King, who always took great interest in whatever could contribute to the good of humanity in general, and to the relief of the poor in particular, saw with great satisfaction the happy effects of the changes wrought by the High Almoner; and being desirous of securing them stability, by appointing to the superintendance persons of some respectability and knowledge, his Majesty for that purpose added a Counsellor of State and three Masters of Requests to the Council of Administration of the *Quinze-Vingts*; among the members of which, previous to this addition, there were two Clerks-Counsellors, of the Parliament of Paris. A little while after, a wretched

* So called from the original number of the charitable objects received into the Hospital, which was 300:—before the Revolution it had increased to above 800.

intrigue,

intrigue, the details of which would lead me too far, caused such a disagreement among the Directors, that the two Counsellors from the Parliament dropped their attendance at the Council, and gave in their resignation by a public deed; in which they declared, that they could not with honour keep their places in the Administration. They added some articles in support of their declaration respecting several pretended violations of the statutes, with some charges, more or less serious, against the principal persons employed by the Cardinal *de Rohan*. Two of the Masters of Requests, who had been appointed members of the Council, apprehending that their delicacy might be called in question if they retained an office which two other Magistrates declared they could not undertake with honour, determined very wisely to consult the Court of Requests. There the meeting of the Masters referred the business to a Committee, of which I was appointed Reporter. I went the very day this took place to the Hotel of the Cardinal *de Rohan*, with whom I was not at all acquainted. I told him the nature of my visit, and asked if he would allow me to look over the registers of the Administration of the *Quinze-Vingts*, and all the papers I might want, in order to investigate the facts stated by the articles in the resignation of the two Counsellors. Far from giving the slightest opposition to my request, he appeared to wish exceedingly that the affair should undergo a rigorous scrutiny. The

next day he sent me the registers and papers I had asked for, with a message to say that he had directed the Abbé *Georgel*, his Grand Vicar, to give me every information I required. On the Monday following, the Keeper of the Seals, whom I saw at Versailles, spoke a great deal of this affair to me, and of the great interest which the King took in it; recommending it to me to examine it thoroughly, and enable him as soon as possible to give an account of it to his Majesty, who was very anxious to know whether the charges laid against the Administration of the *Quinze-Vingts* were or were not well founded.

This business redounded completely to the honour of the Cardinal *de Rohan*: the Administration of the *Quinze-Vingts* was fully justified by their registers; and all the charges brought against it in the resignation of the two Counsellors were found very insignificant, or completely refuted by the papers and resolutions, to which was annexed the signature of those very Magistrates, whose scruples were evidently frivolous.

After this affair, I continued from time to time to see the Cardinal *de Rohan*, from whom I received very great civilities. He soon placed so much confidence in me as to speak to me with the utmost frankness upon all his concerns, and particularly about his situation at Court. I saw that he was sincerely attached to the King, and very grateful for the concern which his Majesty had deigned to show at the clamour that had been

raised against him respecting the administration of the *Quinze-Vingts*: but the Queen was far from treating him with equal goodness; which gave him great uneasiness. I did not know, nor did he ever tell me, in what he had displeased her Majesty; but the Abbé *Georgel*, with whom I conversed about it, informed me, “That the Cardinal during his embassy at Vienna had written to the *Duc d’Aiguillon*, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, a confidential letter, in which he had passed some jests upon the Empress (*Maria Theresa*); that that Minister had been so indiscreet as to give the letter to *Madame Dubarry*, who did not scruple to read it aloud at a supper she gave to a party, with whom she incidently made a laugh at it; that as she told nobody that the letter was written to the Minister, it was generally supposed to be written to herself; that it was so reported in the account which was given to the Queen of what passed at the supper; and that her Majesty, highly displeased that the Empress her mother should have been made the subject of laughter for *Madame Dubarry* and her guests, had never forgiven the Cardinal that letter.”

I saw but little hopes of an offence of this nature being either repaired or forgotten; and however concerned I felt for the Cardinal’s uneasiness, of which he was constantly talking to me, I did not know how to advise him. One day I called upon him just as he returned from

Verfailles; this was about three months before his arrest: as he appeared unusually gay and satisfied, I asked if he had any good news to tell me? “Yes, yes, (replied he) excellent, and such
“as I hope will give you great pleasure; but
“first give me your word that you will keep what
“I am going to tell you a profound secret.”—
“Certainly.”—“I think (continued he) that you
“have felt a real concern for the Queen’s dis-
“pleasure against me—let me tell you then, that
“a change is taking place.”—“I give you joy
“with all my heart; but do you not flatter your-
“self? Have you seen the Queen? or has she
“written to you?”—“No, but I am to see her
“on Wednesday next. I shall return on Thurs-
“day-evening, and if you will be here about
“nine o’clock you shall know all; I can tell you
“no more about it at present.” I was very
punctual, and was sorry to find that the Cardinal’s
appointment with the Queen, which he expected
on Wednesday, had not been kept. He had
been told that her Majesty had, on account of the
noise that her reconciliation with him would
make, and of the alterations that must take place,
thought it proper to wait till the King of Sweden’s
departure, which was fixed for the beginning of
the next week, and to postpone the appointment
that had been made for Wednesday of the pre-
ceding week, till the Friday of the one following.
This delay gave the Cardinal the less uneasiness,
as at the time he was-informed of it he was also
assured,

assured, in the most positive manner, that the Queen's disposition towards him became every day more and more favourable. "And have
" these assurances (said I) been given to you by
" any one on whom you can perfectly rely?"—
" Yes, perfectly, and if I could but tell you who,
" you would not be less satisfied than I am: a
" woman, formed to possess the complete confi-
" dence of the Queen, who frequently spends
" whole hours alone with her, and, being much
" attached to me, has both with zeal and address
" seized every opportunity of weakening the pre-
" judices her Majesty had conceived against me;
" and she has happily succeeded in conquering
" them. The affair of the *Quinze-Vingts*, or ra-
" ther the manner in which the King mentioned
" it before the Queen, had prepared the way, and
" convinced her that I was not a worthless fel-
" low. Her friend, who knows her better than
" any one else, finding this favourable disposition
" in her, has very ably kept it up and increased
" it; sometimes by mingling in her conversation
" slight expressions which produce great effects;
" sometimes by speaking, though always with an
" air of indifference, of some unhappy families
" whom I have relieved. You do not know how
" much any thing of a beneficent nature affects
" the Queen: it is inconceivable what she gives
" away; it is immense, and yet not equal to what
" she would give, as she has a fixed sum for her
" monthly expences, and when that is expended,

“ she is under the necessity of postponing her
“ bounties till the month following. The lady I
“ allude to has done me the service of pointing
“ out to me very opportunely persons patronised
“ by her Majesty, and who were experiencing
“ great embarrassments while waiting her relief:
“ you may believe that I was eager to supply
“ them, and largely.”—“ But are you sure the
“ Queen heard of it?”—“ Certainly; for my
“ money went through her friend’s hands. This
“ is the cause of her Majesty’s esteeming me gra-
“ dually more and more, and to such a degree as
“ to give me, in preference to all devoted to
“ her, the greatest mark of confidence possible.
“ You will be very much surprised when I can
“ tell you what it is.”—“ And when will that
“ be?”—“ On Saturday next about this time, as
“ probably the affair will be then all over:—do
“ not ask me any thing more about it now.”

On the Saturday the Cardinal returned from Versailles without having seen the Queen; having been told that she was suddenly taken ill with a violent head ach and obliged to go to bed: but at the same time a paper was given to him from her, “ which (said he) seals the confidence her
“ Majesty has in me.”

A third appointment failed in like manner, under pretence of the Queen’s being with the Dauphin, who was indisposed; but on putting him off for another week, he was told that her Majesty had the greatest plans in view for him,
and

and was thinking of nothing less than having him made Prime Minister. So far was he from not believing it, that he was alarmed by anticipation at the burden and difficulties of so important an office. I too from this moment became uneasy, but from very different motives: I was afraid that this affair, still enveloped in so much mystery, might prove to be some Court intrigue, some abominable snare laid for the Cardinal. I told him my fears, which he turned into ridicule. “What! (said he) do you take me for a child or an idiot?”—“No, certainly; but without being either the one or the other, you may be too sanguine, too easily imposed upon.”—“Well! well! Come, in spite of all your incredulity I will convince you;—but give me your word not to speak to any soul alive of what I am going to tell you.”—“You may depend upon me.”—“Let us go into my closet. You know that the Queen is very fond of fine diamonds. Some time ago a magnificent necklace was shown to her, which she immediately longed to have; but the King thought it too dear, and would not buy it. Still she longed to have it. As she could not pay for it but by instalments, and with frequent delays, of which the jewellers would not run the risk, it was necessary to find some person very secure in every respect, who would secretly make the purchase for her Majesty, and who was in a situation to answer to the
“ trades-

“ tradesmen for the payments. The friend, of
“ whom I have spoken to you, pointed me
“ out, and undertook to make the proposal to
“ me. I embraced it without hesitation, as you
“ will readily imagine; and this is the state of
“ things.—Well! Mr. Incredulous! what say
“ you now?”—“ I say that I cannot comprehend
“ it at all. How can the Queen, who has all
“ the diamonds of the Crown at her command,
“ have so great a desire for this necklace?”—
“ How? Because, perhaps, in all the diamonds
“ of the Crown so perfect an assortment could
“ not be made: I tell you there cannot be finer
“ seen.”—“ Be it so; but what can she do with
“ the Necklace? for, as the King thought it too
“ dear, she certainly will not think of wearing
“ it in his presence, and in his presence she is,
“ or may be, every moment.”—“ I cannot tell
“ you whether she will or will not wear it; per-
“ haps she may wish to make a present of it, or
“ to keep it locked up till she has a favourable
“ moment of gaining the King’s approbation of
“ the purchase. I cannot say, and it does not
“ become me to question her on those topics.”—
“ Certainly not; but I hope at least that you will
“ not conclude this affair without having seen
“ the Queen.”—“ Doubtless not: see her I must
“ to deliver the Necklace to her.”—“ Is every
“ thing already settled with the jewellers?”—
“ Oh, yes! I will show you the agreement signed
“ by

“ by her Majesty, and all the articles approved in
“ the margin by her, for I see you do not be-
“ lieve a word of what I am telling you.”—
“ Pardon me, but in affairs so nice as this I am
“ fond of having things upon paper.”—“ Do
“ you know the Queen’s writing?” said he to
me, as he showed me a slight paper book which
he took out of his desk. “ I do not,” I re-
plied, “ but your Eminence ought to know it
“ well.”—“ Oh, perfectly: Read! read!” I
ran my eyes hastily over the conditions of this
agreement, which was signed *Marie Antoinette de*
France, and I certainly saw in the margin opposite
each article the word *approved*, written in a small
regular hand like the signature. “ Well!” said
he with a satisfied air, “ do you begin to see
“ clear?”—“ I see,” said I, “ if this be the
“ Queen’s writing, that she writes a pretty little
“ hand; but I think you have undertaken here
“ a very ticklish commission.” — “ You will
“ change your opinion, when you see the sequel;
“ have patience till this day eight days, for I am
“ positively to see the Queen next week.”

This certainly had no other foundation than
the same promises with which the Cardinal had
been kept in suspense for six weeks before. He
went to Versailles and returned without seeing
her Majesty; the reason given was, that the King
had passed the whole evening with her; and the
Cardinal admitted this account with an ease and
confidence that astonished me. I expressed to
him

him great uneasiness at his situation. “ And has
“ not the Queen even written to you?” said I.
“ Have not you a single letter from her on this busi-
“ ness?”—“ No; but she has made her friend write
“ to me, and that’s the same thing. I will show
“ you a letter that will satisfy you.” He opened
a small press in an angle between the fire-place
and the window, and, taking out a handful of let-
ters, read me one of them, about a page and a
half long. It was an inexplicable piece of am-
biguity, which I had no sooner read than I said
to the Cardinal with warmth—“ If it be not, my
“ Lord, the most respectable woman in the
“ Kingdom who has written this letter, you are
“ shamefully played upon. What does all this
“ signify? There are expressions in it which may
“ apply to some circumstances relative to the
“ Necklace, when we know them, but they may
“ as well and better be applied to a hundred
“ other stories: in short, this letter is so inappli-
“ cable, that happen what will, you can make no
“ use of it; and I am convinced that the person
“ who wrote it had this in view.”—“ Fie! do
“ not talk in that manner. You would speak
“ very differently if you knew how much that
“ person is in every respect above all suspi-
“ cion; besides, have not you seen the agree-
“ ment signed and approved by the Queen?”—
“ Yes; but as I am unacquainted with her Ma-
“ jesty’s writing, which may very well have been
“ forged, and also with the lady so estimable,
“ and

“ and who may be much less so than you ima-
“ gine, I am more apprehensive than ever that
“ this affair may turn out very troublesome to
“ you. There is but one thing that can remove
“ my fears; and that is, as you have not yet deli-
“ vered the Necklace, that you promise me, and
“ I conjure you, not to part with it but to the
“ Queen herself.”—“ I do promise you, and so
“ you may be easy: indeed you would be per-
“ fectly so, if you knew the name of the person;
“ all I can tell you is, that there is not a more
“ distinguished one in the Kingdom.”

Two days after this I went into Britany, where I had not been six weeks before I learned, by the public papers, that the Cardinal was arrested, without any particulars of the cause of so extraordinary an event; but it was not difficult for me to guess it.

The circumstances given in evidence are all that have been certainly known. What I have here related could not be proved but by my testimony, which was not taken, or by *Madame La Mothe's* correspondence, and that was burnt an hour after the Cardinal's arrest. He was so thoroughly convinced that that correspondence contained the Queen's secret, and that the severity with which her Majesty had treated him before the King was a proof of the implicit confidence she had in his discretion, that, instead of attempting to justify himself to the King, he only thought of not exposing the Queen. After confirming, some-
times

times by his silence, sometimes by the embarrassment of his replies to their Majesties' questions, a charge that could not but excite their indignation against him, his first care, the moment he was arrested, was to dispatch one of his people post to Paris, with an order to open the press in his closet which contained all *Madame La Mothe's* letters, and to burn them. This order he delivered to his man in German, that he might not be understood by the Officer who went with him from the King's chamber to the apartments occupied by the High Almoner in the Palace. An Adjutant of the *Gardes-du-Corps*, was charged to take him first to Paris to seize his papers, and then to the Bastille.

By destroying this correspondence the Cardinal lost the most important papers for his justification; for they would have shown the manœuvres, the profound and studied subtilty practised by the most intriguing of women, to convince him of the kindness, extreme confidence, and friendship which the Queen bestowed upon her; of the essential service it was in her power to render him with her Majesty, and the like. Had this point been cleared up, the obscurity in which the affair remained enveloped would have been dispelled. It would have been evident to all, that the Cardinal, far from being seduced by the ambitious and criminal hopes of which he was accused, had no other object in view than to gain the Queen's good opinion, by lending her
his

his credit for the purchase of a Necklace, which he could not but believe she wished very much to possess, as the fact was attested to him, not only by a person who he thought had received the commission expressly from her Majesty, but by a writing which he imagined to be signed and approved by the Queen.

It has been very inconsiderately supposed that the Cardinal was too well acquainted with the Queen's writing, and particularly her signature, to be so grossly deceived in it. He had never received a letter from her Majesty, and could never have seen her writing, or rather her signature, but twice or thrice in a hurry on the registers of baptism; and does it therefore follow that he could have preserved so accurate a remembrance of it, as to know it long after, though written in a different manner, or with different pens? It was said that at least he knew that the Queen's signature was *Marie Antoinette*, and not *Marie Antoinette de France*. It was doubtless possible for him to have observed this from the registers of baptism; but it was also possible for him not to have attended to it, or, if he did, to have imagined that the Queen might sign differently in public registers and private deeds. Nay, how could he suspect it, when he had in his hands a deed that he must as firmly have believed to have been signed by the Queen, as if he had seen her write her name to it, because a part of the first instalment to which the instrument bound

her Majesty, was paid on her account into the Cardinal's own hands by *Madame La Mothe*?

The most moderate censurer of the Cardinal's conduct must have blamed the excess of his credulity; but to judge in what degree he deserved this censure, it would have been necessary to know all the art practised by *Madame La Mothe* to make herself mistress of his confidence, which unfortunately for him it was but too easy both to gain and to keep. Being absent from Court, and from Paris, a great part of the year, he knew *Madame La Mothe* only by her genealogy*, by the patronage she had received from the King and Queen, and by the favourable accounts given of her to him by all persons whose good offices she had managed to secure. Finding her sprightly and amiable, the Cardinal was naturally led to believe that those qualities, which

* The genealogy of the dame *Valois de la Mothe*, according to the most authentic titles, and certified by the genealogist *D'Hozier de Serigny*, King of Arms in France, derives her descent from *Henry Valois de St. Remi*, the natural son of *Henry II.* and of *Nicola de Savigny*. The Duke de *Ceresse Brancas* undertook to present a Memorial to the Queen and to *M. de Maurepas*, in favour of the *Demoiselle de Valois* and her brother, whom *Madame de Boulainvilliers* had found at Passy asking charity, and whom she had brought up at her own expence. The King granted them pensions. The young *Valois*, who was serving in the navy as a sailor, was immediately made an Officer, and took the title of *Baron de Valois*. He proved as worthless as his sister, but with less ability: he died before her.

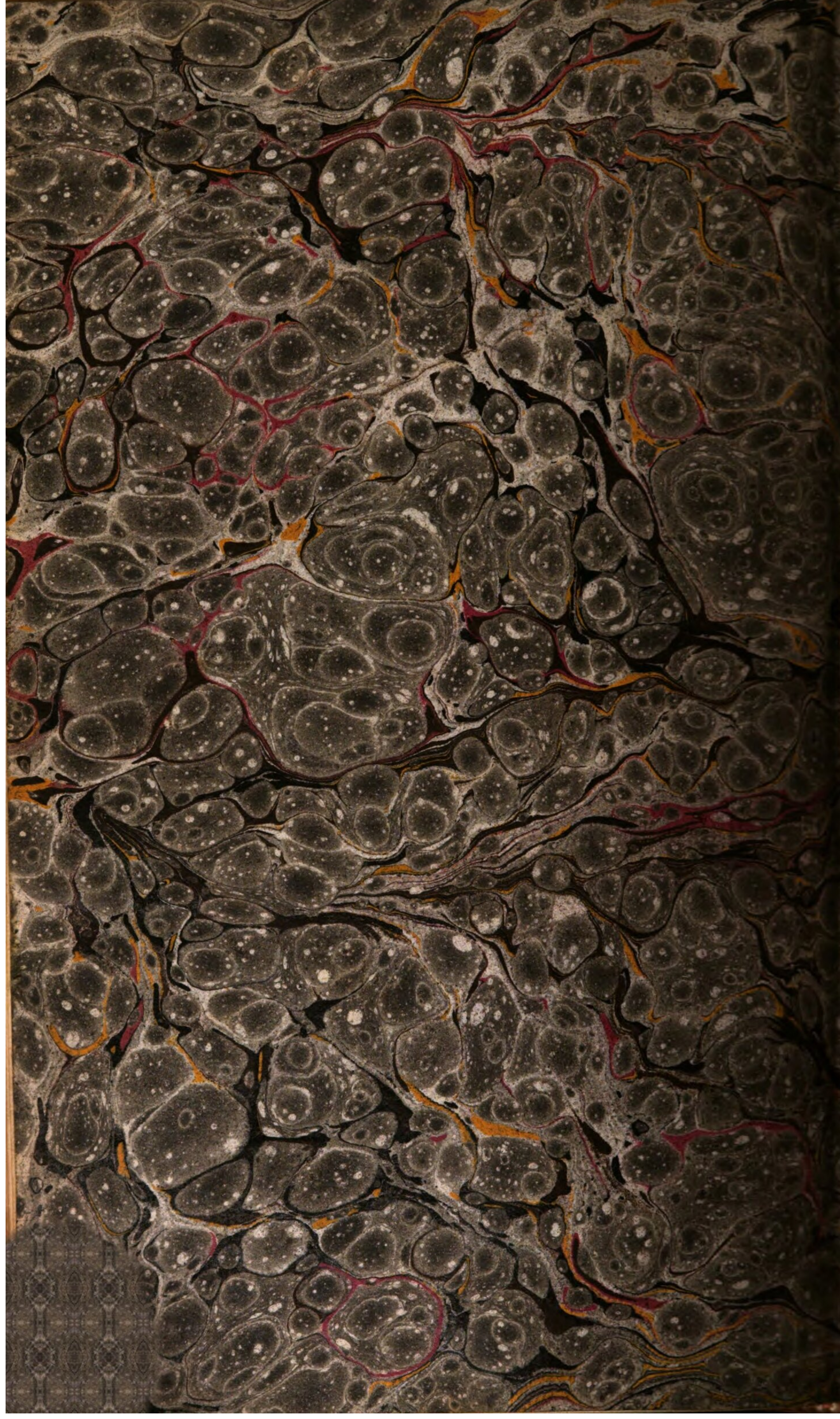
the name of *Valois* must render still more interesting in the eyes of the Queen, had gained *Madame La Mothe* her Majesty's affection, and implicit confidence. Most of those who have cast the greatest censure on the Cardinal would perhaps have fallen as blindly into the same fault, had the same snares been laid for them.

The severity, as unmerited as impolitic, with which this error was punished would be a stain upon the memory of *Louis XVI.* had he not been entirely ignorant of all the facts I have been relating; had not the Minister * who was the informer, or reporter of the information against the Cardinal, no doubt more induced by his zeal than by his former enmity to the High Almoner, represented this affair to their Majesties in all the odious lights in which it could be placed; and had he not painted it as so serious an offence against the honour of the Queen, or at least so calculated to implicate her, that the slightest indulgence might cast a suspicion of connivance on her Majesty. The King considered the Cardinal, and could not do otherwise, as guilty of High Treason; for, according to the laws of France, the crime of which he was accused came under that description; and in being so pointedly harsh to him, his Majesty meant to make the most lawful use of his authority, and at the same

* The Baron *de Breteuil*.

time such as the Queen's honour imperiously prescribed.

This exertion of power was certainly unmerited, and its consequences have sufficiently proved that it was no less impolitic. It was humbling unnecessarily a powerful and numerous family, whose rank, alliances, respectability, and services deserved consideration; it was alienating the first Noblemen of the Kingdom, and alarming every body; it was, in short, preparing and facilitating the Revolution, by awaking ideas of despotism which the reign of *Louis XVI.* had buried in oblivion, and by exciting a general desire of seeing the Royal authority limited.— This desire, so unanimously expressed in the instructions of the Bailiwicks, would have been considered as an absurdity had it not been for this incident of the Cardinal *de Rohan*; and yet it was by striving to accomplish it, or at least under that pretence, that the Monarchy was overthrown. It may then be well said, that the unfortunate affair of the Cardinal *de Rohan* is not less connected with the History of the Revolution than with that of the Bastille.



Bertrand de Moleville, Antoine-François de, 1744-1818

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